

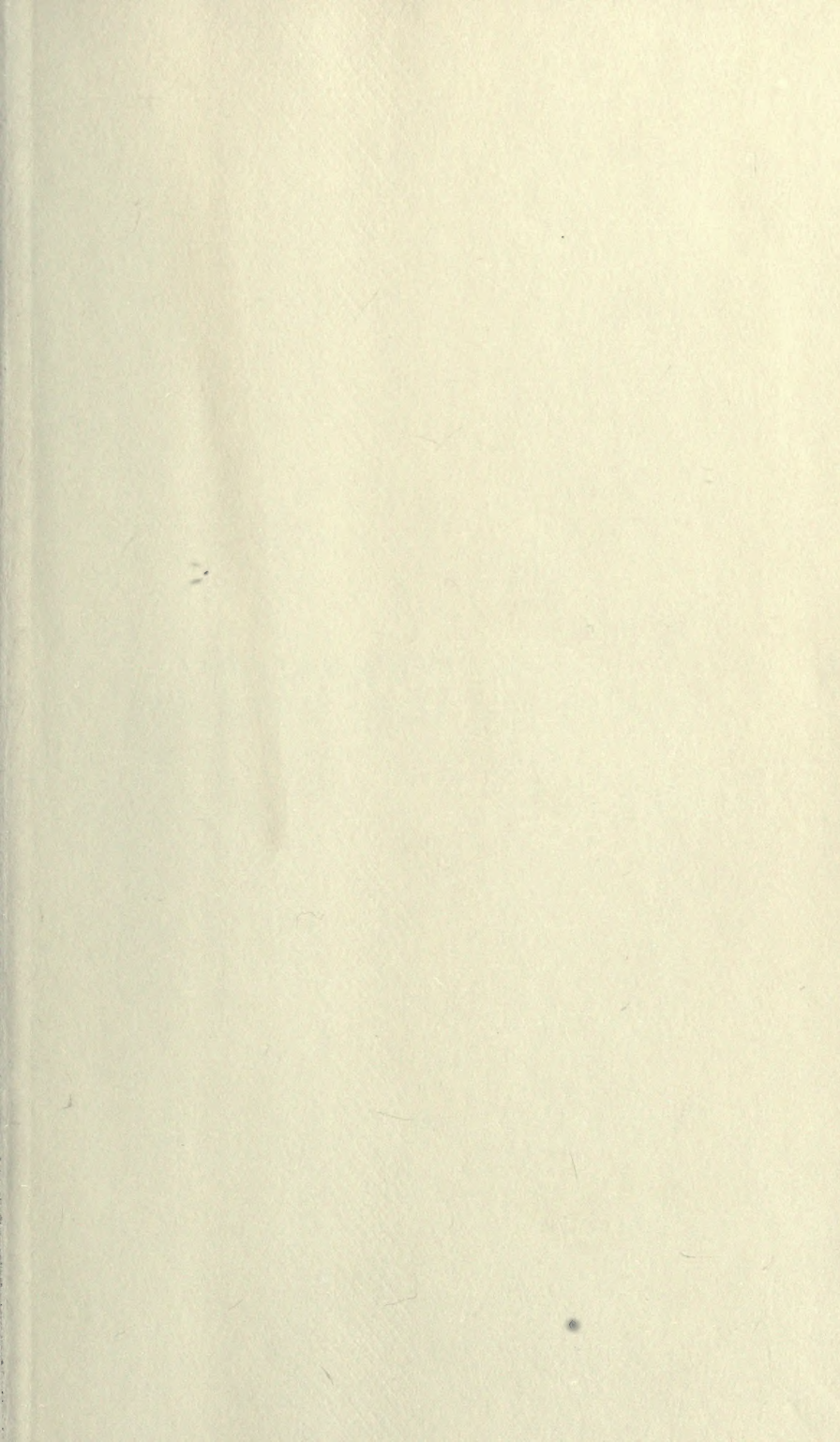
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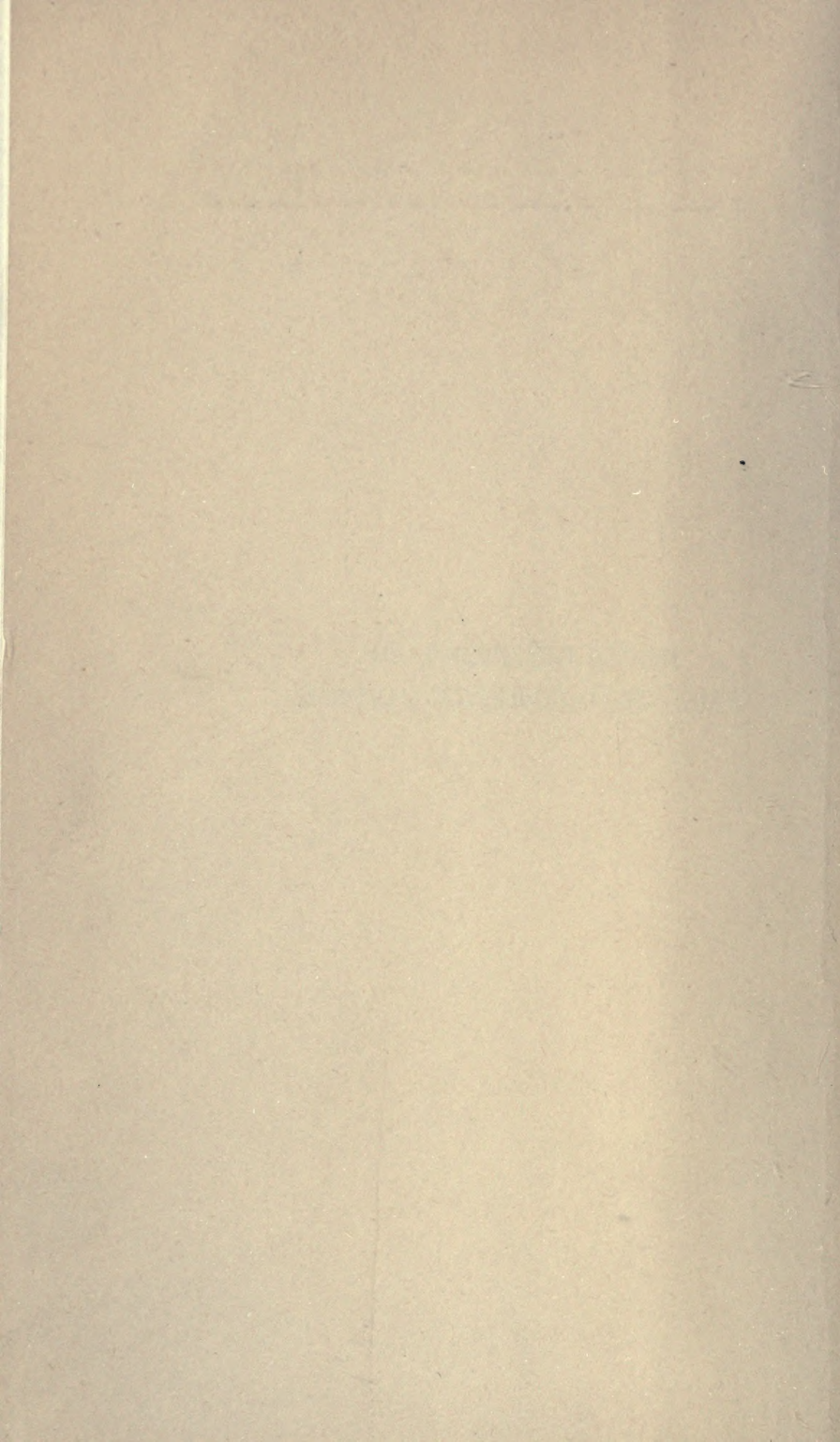


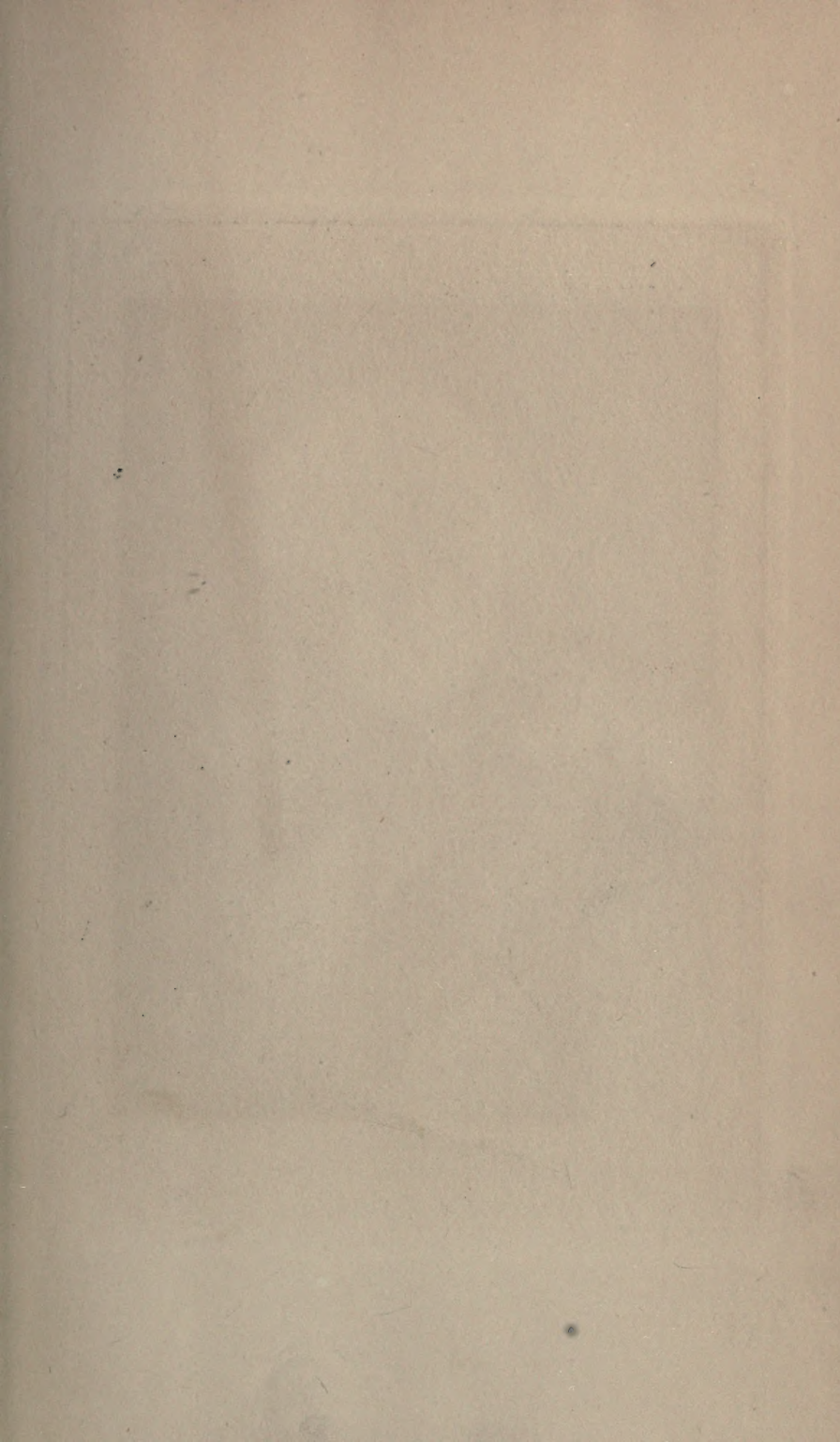
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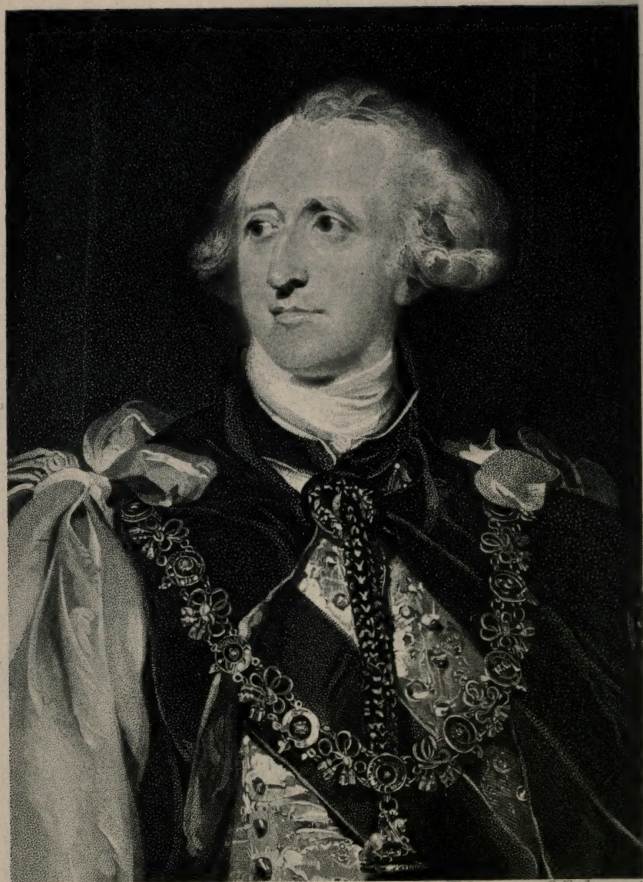
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RECOLLECTIONS OF
THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE







For J. Laurence. P. R. A. pinxit.

*The Duke of Leeds.
1792.*

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RECOLLECTIONS OF THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE

By SIR EDWARD HERTSLET, K.C.B.

MANY YEARS LIBRARIAN AND KEEPER OF THE ARCHIVES
OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE



WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1901

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PREFACE

ON February 3, 1896, I retired from the Foreign Office, after a service of close upon fifty-six years, and at the request of many old colleagues and friends I have been induced to put on record my recollections of the old Foreign Office as it was in Downing Street, as well as during its temporary transference to Whitehall Gardens, before its removal to the present building ; together with a few anecdotes and incidents connected with that office, which came either under my own personal observation during my somewhat unusually long official career, or were related to me by my father and others.

I have consented to do this the more readily as I have often regretted that I kept no record of many other interesting and amusing anecdotes which my father, Mr. Lewis Hertslet, my predecessor in the office, used to relate to me concerning the old office and its inmates during the longer and perhaps even more eventful times during which he was connected with the same department.

The 5th February, 1901, was the centenary of my father's entrance into the Foreign Office, where he held the appointment of Sub-Librarian from 1801 till 1811, and that of Librarian and Keeper

of the Archives from the latter date till 1857—a period of nearly fifty-seven years. He served under Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, Lords Castlereagh, Aberdeen, and Palmerston, the Duke of Wellington, and Lords Granville, Malmesbury, Russell, and Clarendon. He was in the Foreign Office during the latter part of the French Revolutionary War; before the signature of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802; during the sitting of the important Conferences at Paris and Vienna in 1814 and 1815; of the Conferences in London, 1830–32, which terminated in the recognition of the Independence of Belgium; and the Conferences at Constantinople and London, 1827–32, which led to the recognition of the Independence of Greece; and he did not retire until 1857, after the termination of the war with Russia. He was therefore a witness of many little incidents which would, no doubt, have been read with interest in these days had they been recorded; but as neither he nor any of his contemporaries wrote or published any reminiscences of their official life, most of these incidents have passed beyond recall; still a few of them have survived in tradition or correspondence. I have therefore ventured to publish a few facts and anecdotes connected partly with the old establishment and partly with the new office, which I had jotted down from time to time, for my own amusement, in the hope that they may be read with some little interest, not only by my former colleagues and those who may aspire to enter that important department of the State, but also by the general public.

It has been my endeavour to avoid touching on any events, political or personal, the recording of which might be considered injudicious in the public interests, or in the least degree painful to any individual. I trust that in this, at any rate, I have succeeded. There are no doubt many of my colleagues who could add largely to the anecdotes and records which I have ventured to make public : and I hope that they may some day be tempted to do as I have done, or at least that they will not be deterred from doing so by any suspicion that the example which I have set them is a bad one.

In the Appendix will be found an account of the early creation of the office of Secretary of State, with the names of those statesmen who filled, at various times, the office of Secretary of State for the "Northern" and "Southern" Departments respectively, before the appointment, in 1782, of the first "Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs." The names of those who have filled the office of Foreign Secretary since that date are also given in the Appendix.

EDWARD HERTSLET

RICHMOND,

September, 1901.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE

CHAPTER I

SITE OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE BUILDINGS

IT may be well to commence this work with a short account of Cleveland Row, St. James's, and of the "Cockpit"¹ at Whitehall, as the Foreign Office was situated at each of those places for a time before it was finally removed to Downing Street.

I have often heard the question asked, "Where was the Foreign Office before it was first situated in Downing Street?" The answer is that the "Foreign Office" was first so called on the discontinuance of the separate offices of the Secretaries of State for the "Northern" and "Southern" Departments, on March 27th, 1782.² Both those departments were at that time in Cleveland Row, St.

¹ The old Cockpit was pulled down about 1740. (From information received from Sir John Soane's Museum.)

² See Appendix, p. 249.

James's, when the "Foreign Office" and "Home Office" replaced them. There the Foreign Office remained until September, 1786, when it was removed to the still so-called "Cockpit" at Whitehall. It remained there until December, 1793, when it was transferred to some private houses in Downing Street which had been leased for that purpose and thrown into one. It remained in Downing Street until August 27th, 1861, when it was temporarily moved to Pembroke House and Lord Malmesbury's house, Nos. 7 and 8, Whitehall Gardens, for seven years, pending the erection—partly on the old foundations—of the new building in Downing Street. As soon as the new building was completed, the office was removed from Whitehall Gardens back to its present and permanent quarters in Downing Street (July 1st, 1868).

There is another question which has often been put to me, which is: "Where was the Foreign Office situated in Cleveland Row, St. James's, and were the despatches then dated from Cleveland Row or from St. James's?" This may be answered thus:—

In May, 1761, the Earl of Bute removed his office—the "Northern" Department—from the Cockpit at Whitehall to a house in Cleveland Row, St. James's, which "Row" was situated at the extreme end of a narrow passage, or street, in front of St. James's Palace, forming the continuation of Pall Mall westward. The house stood next door to Cleveland Court, and it had previously belonged to Baron Behr.

Other Secretaries of State, either for the

"Northern" or the "Southern" Department, subsequently occupied this house as their official residence for some years, and when they did so all their official letters were dated from "St. James's," and not from Cleveland Row.

On the 23rd July, 1770, when Lord Weymouth was Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department, the following letter was addressed by his lordship's desire to the Board of Works, requesting that certain repairs to this house might be undertaken :—

"ST. JAMES'S, *July 23rd*, 1770.

"SIR,—It appearing necessary that a very old ceiling of a room in my Lord Weymouth's office should forthwith be taken down and a new one made in lieu of it, and also that the ceilings of three or four other rooms should be whitewashed and the wainscotting of some papered rooms painted, I am directed by his lordship to desire that, if it be proper, you will acquaint the Commissioners of His Majesty's Board of Works therewith, that the necessary orders may forthwith be given for these repairs to be made to his lordship's office.

"I am, etc.,

"WM. FRASER."¹

On the 7th December of the same year another letter was addressed, by the Secretary of State's desire, to the Lord Chamberlain—upon whom then devolved the duty of supplying certain Government offices with furniture—requesting him to furnish a house in Cleveland Row, late in possession of Baron Behr, which had been hired for the removal thither of the Secretary of State's office from Whitehall.²

¹ *Calendar, Home Office Papers*, 1770-2, p. 170. ² *Ibid.*, p. 399.

In the following year this office was extended by the addition to it of an adjoining house, and on the 16th February and 28th April, 1771, letters were addressed by the Under Secretary of State to the Lord Chamberlain, requesting that the "smaller house," which had been added to the house in Cleveland Row and which had been taken for the office of the Principal Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department, might also be furnished.

A list was also sent of certain articles required for the "first" house, and of others required for the "second" house.¹

In September, 1786, the Foreign Office was removed from Cleveland Row to the Cockpit at Whitehall, as will be seen from the following letter, which was addressed by the Marquess of Carmarthen (afterwards Duke of Leeds), at that time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Sir George Warren, from whom the temporary premises had been rented :—

"ST. JAMES'S, *March 18th*, 1786.

"SIR,—His Majesty having signified his pleasure that the Secretary of State's office in Cleveland Row should be removed, I hereby give you notice that I shall quit the house and premises in Cleveland Row, St. James's, belonging to you, wherein I now carry on the business of one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, on or before Michaelmas next, and that neither I or any of His Majesty's servants shall use or occupy the said house after that date.

"I am, etc.,

"CARMARTHEN."

¹ *Home Office Domestic Entry Book*, vol. xxiv. p. 263.

There is yet another question which I have many times heard asked, and that is this: "Where was the old Cockpit at Whitehall?" In answering this, it may be remarked that there were formerly numerous cockpits in London, but the two best-known were the Royal Cockpit and the Cockpit at Whitehall; and the latter is the one most frequently mentioned in history as being associated with distinguished personages, and the place where the Secretaries of State were for many years located.

The Royal Cockpit was in Birdcage Walk, and stood at the junction of Queen Square with Park Street, at the top of Dartmouth Street; it was taken down in 1816.

The actual position of the old Cockpit at Whitehall is shown on the accompanying plan, reduced from the "Survey and ground plan of the Palace of Westminster, by Jno. Fisher, in 1680, as engraved and published by Geo. Vertue, in 1747, on a scale of sixty feet to the inch."

It will be seen from this plan that it was situated in that part of the Palace which abutted on St. James's Park; and that one of the approaches to it was in Whitehall, for it will be observed on the plan that over a passage in the Palace at Whitehall is written, "The entrance to the Cockpit": but it is not clearly shown how the Cockpit was reached from this entrance; probably it was through an archway.

The general opinion of the Treasury authorities would appear to be that the Cockpit (still so called) occupied part of the site of the official residence

of the First Lord of the Treasury, 10, Downing Street, and that the room in which the Secretary of State sat looked across the Parade (south), and over the First Lord's Garden (west). Other authorities have confirmed this view by stating that the present "Treasury Chambers," so called to this day, adjoin the spot where the Cockpit formerly stood.

In a report made by Mr. William Lascelles—31st March, 1857—on the transfer of the books and papers of the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund from the Treasury Chambers to the Public Record Office, it is recorded that :—

"Following the same instructions by which I carried on the removal of the Treasury registered papers from Whitehall—in October, 1856—I entered into communication with Mr. Begent, of the Finance Department of the Treasury, and from him received the charge of the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund books and papers, which I accordingly removed from a room on the basement there, near the Cockpit, to the Public Record Office, on the 11th October, 1856.

"The Cockpit retained its original name long after the change of its use, and the minutes of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury were dated from the Cockpit at Whitehall as late as the year 1780, if not later."

Mr. Begent retired from the Treasury in 1892; but before leaving he told me that the room here spoken of adjoined the Treasury kitchen on the right-hand side of the Treasury passage leading from Downing Street to St. James's Park.

In November, 1793, arrangements were made for removing the office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from the Cockpit at Whitehall to two houses belonging to Lord Sheffield and Sir Samuel Fludyer respectively, situated in Downing Street, which had been *leased* for that purpose, as will be seen from the following copy of a letter which was addressed by Mr. Burges,¹ at that time Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Lord Chamberlain's office,² it being still the duty of that department to supply such furniture, etc., as might be necessary for the offices of the Secretaries of State :—

“WHITEHALL, *November 21st*, 1793.

“SIR,—The office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, lately taken upon lease from Lord Sheffield and Sir Samuel Fludyer, having undergone certain repairs and alterations, which has made it necessary to have the whole of the office papered and a number of locks provided, I have to request that you will move the Lord Chamberlain to give the necessary directions for the same to be furnished without delay, as His Majesty's Secretary of State must take possession of the new offices before Christmas next.

“I have, etc.,

“J. B. BURGES.”

My attention has been called to the fact that in a return of supplies for miscellaneous services granted by Parliament in 1799, and reproduced in the *Annual Register* of that year, the following item appears :—

¹ Afterwards Sir James Bland Burges Lamb, Bart.

² Lord Chamberlain's *Warrant Book*, No. 768.

“For the ‘*purchase*’ of a house for an office of one of the Secretaries of State, £7,378 3s. od.”; and that in a return of similar supplies granted in 1806, also reproduced in the *Annual Register* of that year, the following item appears:—

“For a house in Downing Street for an office for the Secretary of State, £3,435 19s. 6d.”

But I think these houses could not have been those originally assigned for the use of the Foreign Office, as that office was established in Downing Street in December, 1793, unless it was that the leases were then *purchased*.

In the summer of 1861 arrangements were finally made for pulling down the old Foreign and Colonial Offices to make room for the erection of the new buildings partly on the old sites. The accompanying sketch shows the appearance of the old Foreign Office when in course of demolition, and the one facing page 48 shows the view obtained from St. James's Park after it had been pulled down. The initials attached to the sketches are those of Sir George Scharf, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery.

The State Paper Office was included in the destined demolition. It was a handsome stone building which stood in St. James's Park and abutted on a flight of wide stone steps which led from the end of Delahay Street into the park. It cost £40,000 to erect, and answered the purpose for which it was built admirably; but as it stood in the way of the projected new buildings, it had to be pulled down, and the site is now occupied by the southern angle of the new India Office.



*The Old Foreign Office
 Entrance looking South.
 Sketched whilst the auctioneer was selling
 the materials in a lower room. His loud voice was heard
 through the open window, G.S. October 29th 1861 -*

PUBLIC ENTRANCE TO THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE

From a drawing by Sir George Scharf, K.C.B.

[To face page 8

The removal of the Foreign Office from Downing Street to "Pembroke House," No. 7, Whitehall Gardens and Lord Malmesbury's house, No. 8, was commenced in July, 1861, but the building was not ready for business until August 27, 1861, on which day the following notice was published in the *London Gazette*: "On and after to-morrow, the 27th inst., the business of the Foreign Office will be carried on at No. 7, Whitehall Gardens. Foreign Office, August 26th." This notice appeared in the *Times* and other papers on August 28th.

Pembroke House was a large house, formerly belonging to the Earls of Pembroke, and afterwards occupied by the Earl of Harrington. It had a porter's lodge opening into Whitehall Gardens, but the principal rooms looked over a garden on to the river Thames. The Thames Embankment had not then been built, and the river, at high water, came up to the garden, where there was a boat-house; and when we first went over the building, before we took official possession of it, there was a large boat in the boat-house. Adjoining the boat-house, but out of reach of the water, there were spacious stables. There were also a very lofty kitchen, and long passages in the basement leading from the back of the house to the entrance gates. After the water had been well bricked out these places were used, during our occupation of the premises, for stowing away the printed books, parliamentary papers, and the like, whilst the stables were appropriated to the bookbinder and his staff. The MS. library, or the "Reference Room,"—so called—was to the right of the long passage leading

from the entrance gates to the main building. Lord Malmesbury's house adjoined the porter's lodge of Pembroke House, and the door was immediately opposite the statue of King James II. in the centre of Whitehall Yard. The Librarian's room, which I occupied, was formerly used by Lord Malmesbury as his dining-room. It had two French windows, facing a small garden which occupied the space between the two houses and into which I occasionally sauntered. In the old office in Downing Street the original treaties had been kept simply in a glass case in the Librarian's room; but here, for greater security, a fireproof safe with slate shelves was specially built out from the Librarian's room into the garden for their reception.

The printing establishment was on the left of the passage leading from the entrance to the main building.

The Permanent Under Secretary of State's room¹ was opposite to my own, up a short flight of stairs, and the windows faced Whitehall Yard.

The Secretary of State's rooms² and those of his private secretary were immediately above the Under Secretary's room, and were approached by a steep flight of steps. These rooms also faced Whitehall Yard.

The other rooms, assigned to the Parliamentary and Assistant Under Secretaries of State, the Chief Clerk's department, and the political departments, faced the river. There were two small houses

¹ Then Mr. Hammond's.

² Then Lord John Russell's.

adjoining, formerly used as "annexes" to the War Office and the Commander-in-Chief's Office. These houses, which were not fireproof, were handed over to the Foreign Office (much to the annoyance of those two departments), and in the rooms belonging to them were placed the foreign manuscript correspondence for a number of years and the original ratifications of treaties. These valuable documents are now deposited in the Public Record Office. The library messenger, George Mason, a trustworthy and highly respected man, resided here with his family during the time that the Foreign Office was temporarily housed in Whitehall Gardens.

When Pembroke House was pronounced to be ready for our reception, I went over the different rooms, and, on entering one of the attics, I observed that a fire was laid with paper which struck me as much resembling that on which our confidential correspondence was printed, and on pulling the paper out, I found it was a copy of a printed confidential memorandum, which had been prepared for the Secretary of State's use, showing how the various foreign political questions stood on the day on which it was written, which was only a short time previously. How it came to be put there, or by whom, was, of course, never discovered; but it was fortunate that it fell into my hands.

I may here mention a little incident which occurred whilst we were in Whitehall Gardens.

One day I had occasion to send two telegrams to my friend Consul Hamilton, of Boulogne, and as they were on private business I paid the cost at the

time of sending them, and was given receipts for the amount. The charge was half a crown each, and it was customary in those days for the telegraph clerks to give receipts for messages sent. There was at that time a running account kept between the Telegraph Company and the Foreign Office, and at the end of the quarter the company sent in their bill to the Chief Clerk for telegrams which had been sent on Government account, and as my two telegrams, which had been sent on my own private business, were charged in this bill, the Chief Clerk very properly ran his pen through the items, and gave an order for the payment of the bill less these two items. A few days afterwards a member of the firm of Messrs. Lewis and Lewis, solicitors, called upon me at the office, and demanded from me payment for these two telegrams, and I at once told him that I had paid for them at the time of sending them. "Have you the receipts?" he inquired; and on my saying "Yes," and preparing to produce them, he said, "Oh, pray don't trouble yourself now; but perhaps you will be good enough to attend at Bow Street to-morrow morning and produce them there." He then told me that the telegraph clerk had been arrested for fraud; that the company had long suspected him, but without being able to catch him; but that what he had done in my case, in accepting payment from me for two private telegrams and charging them in the company's account with the Foreign Office as unpaid telegrams, constituted a misdemeanour.

At that time the sum of £10,000 was authorised by Acts of Parliament to be issued annually out of

the Consolidated Fund for Home Secret Service,¹ and I was informed that the Treasury had been in the habit of sending telegraphic messages, costing sometimes as much as £50 each, through the telegraph clerk, who had only given his company credit for half the amount, keeping the other half himself. I attended at Bow Street, accordingly, and produced my receipts, whereupon the telegraph clerk was committed for trial at the Clerkenwell Sessions.

When the trial came on I appeared as a witness, and on the accused being told that he might ask me any question he pleased, he replied that he did not wish to ask me anything, as he had lost his character and did not care what became of him. He was found guilty, and as the judge was about to pass sentence, a benevolent old gentleman rose and asked if he might be allowed to say a word, and on the judge giving his consent, he said he had travelled several hundred miles in order to attend that trial, and to plead for mercy for this young man. He said the family were hard-working and highly respectable people, and that this youth had always led a quiet and steady life until he came to London and got into bad company. On hearing this appeal, the judge replied that he would take all these facts into consideration, and would modify the sentence that he was about to pronounce. He then sentenced him to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. As I was leaving the court I

¹ *Hansard*, vol. 305, pp. 1829-31 and 1846-72, May 24th, 1886. Acts repealed, 50 Vict. cap. 2, September 25th, 1886.

asked a policeman if that was a very severe sentence, to which he replied, "Humph! There won't be much of him left after the six months." He was a slender youth, and I could not help feeling very sorry that I had unintentionally been the means of his receiving so severe a punishment, although I believe he deserved it.

In 1856 it was decided to bring together in one great edifice, the Home, Foreign, Colonial, India, and the Local Government Offices, and the consent of Parliament having been obtained, architects were invited to submit competitive designs; and these various designs when received were placed on view in the tea-room of the House of Commons, in the months of July and August, 1859.

Sir Gilbert Scott was eventually appointed architect. His original design was for an ornate Gothic structure; but a change of Ministry led to a change of views. Lord Palmerston declared that he would have nothing to do with a Gothic design, and, after many protests and much negotiation, Sir G. Scott consented to make designs of an Italian character, which were finally accepted. Building operations were commenced as soon as the ground was cleared and the preliminary arrangements completed.

The Foreign and India Offices were first taken in hand, and these were completed in 1868. The building of the other offices was then proceeded with.

An interesting fact is recorded¹ that when the old houses which constituted the Foreign Office in Downing Street were pulled down to make room

¹ *Building News* of January 27th, 1865.

for the foundations of the new offices, it was found that they had originally been erected on wooden piles, and that, in excavating the ground for the new buildings, no less than 10,000 of these piles had to be dug out of the ground.

To the Foreign Office was appropriated the north-western portion of the proposed block, or half the northern part in Downing Street, and half the north-western part fronting St. James's Park.

Sir Gilbert Scott's accepted design was, at the last moment, cut down by the Office of Works, the range of statues which were to have crowned the summit and turrets of the angles of the façade, on which the architect relied for breaking the level sky-line and brightening the monotony of the elevation, being peremptorily disallowed. Sir G. Scott complained bitterly of the unhappy mutilation of his great work, especially lamenting the loss of the corner towers, which are much needed to relieve the monotony of so vast a group.¹

When the Foreign Office was completed, a grand opening reception was given by Mr. Disraeli, then Prime Minister.

During the time that the Foreign Office was, temporarily, at Whitehall Gardens, despatches were still dated from the Foreign Office.

On July 1 of that year (1868), all the manuscripts, printed books, etc., having been carefully brought back from Whitehall Gardens, the new building was officially occupied. Lord Stanley was then

¹ WHEATLEY and CUNNINGHAM'S *London: Past and Present*, vol. ii. p. 132.

Foreign Secretary, he having been appointed on July 6, 1866.

On July 1, 1868, the following notice was inserted in the *Times* and other daily papers :—

“We are requested to state that on and after the 1st of July, the new Foreign Office will be opened for business. The entrance to the office for general business is by the northern portico in the quadrangle. The entrance to the passport office is under the archway, on the left-hand side, entering from Downing Street, and the office is on the first landing.”

On December 9, 1868, Lord Stanley resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Clarendon.



From the Stationers' Almanack]

Foreign Office

India Office

CHAPTER II

FOREIGN OFFICE ROOMS

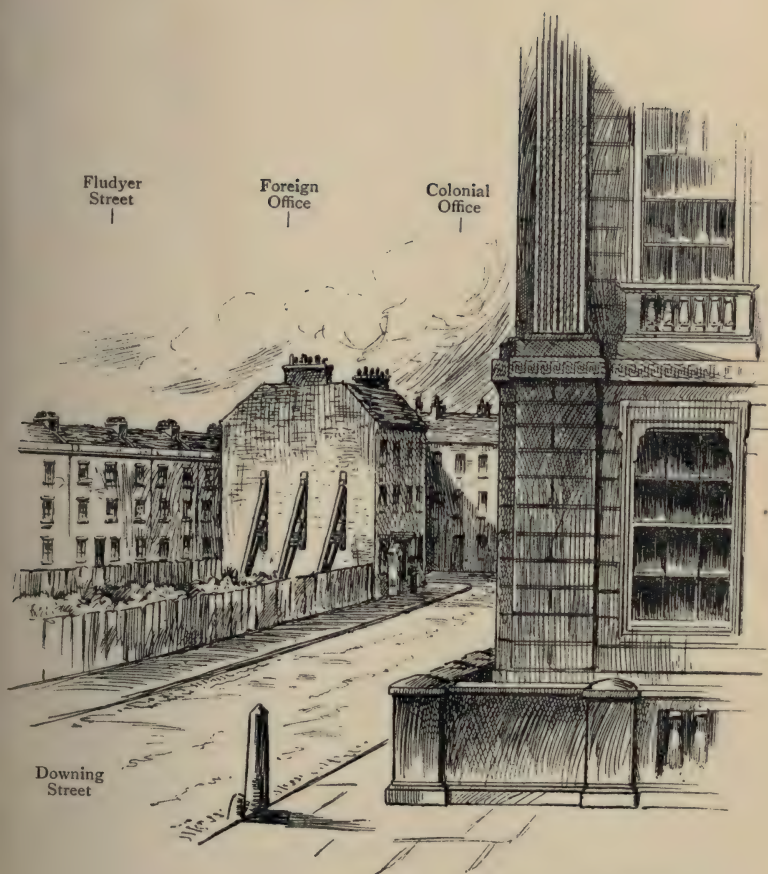
THE old Foreign Office consisted of a block of several private houses thrown into one. The larger houses contained some very fine rooms, the windows of which overlooked St. James's Park; but the smaller ones, the windows of which looked either into Downing Street or Fludyer Street, were in a very tumble-down condition at the time when I entered the office, so much so that, when the adjoining houses at the King Street end of Downing Street and, later, those at the King Street end of Fludyer Street were taken down, the block forming the east end of the Foreign Office had to be shored up, which for many years gave this most important public office a most unsightly, not to say undignified, appearance. (See sketch facing page 18.)

There were two main entrances to the office in Downing Street—one was used chiefly by the Secretary of State, the Under Secretaries, and foreign ambassadors, and the other by the clerks and the general public; but there was also a small private entrance from St. James's Park, and a back door in Fludyer Street, which latter was used by the printers and bookbinders, and it is said that a Secretary of State has, on more than one occasion,

given a small despatch bag, addressed to one of Her Majesty's ministers abroad, to a friend who was in pecuniary difficulties, so that he might leave the office by this back door, and thus escape the vigilance of the bailiff who was waiting to meet him at the Downing Street entrance. It was said that this same Secretary of State had a fellow-feeling for his friend, having been, at one period of his life, himself so much "out at elbows" that he gave orders to his butler never to answer a knock at the door or a ring at the bell until he had put up the small chain, hung at the side of the hall door, so as to prevent the forced entrance of any undesirable visitor in the shape of a dun.

This faithful butler, whom I well remember, was afterwards appointed to the post of lamplighter in the Foreign Office. He was a very stout man, and, being troubled with asthma, was so short-winded that when he went his daily rounds of the office to light the oil lamps in the various rooms in the winter months (for there was no gas in those days), it was painful to hear him panting for breath, and although considerably more than half a century has passed since I last saw him, even now, at times, I fancy I can hear his hard breathing.

Some of the office rooms were comfortable enough in their way—far more so, indeed, than those in the new building—still, they were most inconveniently arranged, in proof of which it need only be mentioned that the Secretary of State in going from his own room to the Cabinet Room had to pass through two rooms occupied by other persons. In fact, the whole arrangement



Privy Council Office

ASPECT OF THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE FROM WHITEHALL

was so inconvenient and unsatisfactory, both at the Foreign Office and at the Colonial Office adjoining, that a Select Committee of the House of Commons was at length appointed, in 1839, to inquire into and report on the condition of the public offices in Downing Street.¹

My father was at that time Librarian and Keeper of the Archives of the Foreign Office, and he, with others, gave evidence before that Committee.

The most important rooms in the office were those assigned to the Secretary of State, to the Private Secretary, and the Précis Writer, on the first floor; and those assigned to the Permanent Under Secretary of State, and the "French" Department (now called the "Western" (Europe) Department) adjoining, on the ground floor. The windows of the Secretary of State's room, as well as those of the private secretary and précis writer adjoining, looked into St. James's Park, as did also those of the Permanent Under Secretary of State's room and those of the French Department.

The windows of the other rooms of the office looked either into the small "square," so called, which formed a *cul-de-sac* at the end of Downing Street, or into Fludyer Street.

The Private Secretary's and Précis Writer's room was very long and spacious—so large, indeed, that it was at one time used by the Secretary of State to give his ministerial dinners in. The French Department was a long room of the same dimensions, but before we left the office a party wall had been

¹ A small sketch of the external appearance of the building appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of November 23, 1861.

built across it, to increase the number of separate working rooms in the office.

The walls of the Secretary of State's room were hung around with fine old tapestry, a portion of which had been purposely cut through on one side by some official "Goth" of those days, to conceal a doorway which led into the Private Secretary's room adjoining. This tapestry was removed to the principal room assigned to the Secretary of State in Lord Malmesbury's old house, temporarily occupied by the Foreign Office in Whitehall Gardens from 1861 till 1868, and now occupied by the Board of Trade.¹

The Permanent Under Secretary of State's room in the old office had a handsome mahogany Book-case in it, which extended along the whole length of the east wall, and the doorway of this room was concealed by imitation backs of books, handsomely bound, and inserted in the door, which gave it the appearance of forming part of the mahogany Book-case. This handsome piece of furniture is now placed in the Chief Clerk's room in the new Foreign Office.

The room in which the Cabinet then held their sittings had three windows facing Downing Street, and the large Inkstand of black wood which stood upon the table in the centre of the room, might be said to be an historical one, as it was used by the Cabinets in the time of Pitt, Fox, and the Duke of Wellington, and by many other illustrious Prime Ministers and Secretaries of State. When the old office was demolished this inkstand was given to

¹ The tapestry now hanging on the walls of the corridor of the new office has only been put up in very recent years.

me; it stood upon my official table during the seven years that the Foreign Office was in Whitehall Gardens, and afterwards in the new office from the time that it was first officially occupied, in July, 1868, until I retired in 1896, when it was handed over to my successor, on whose table it still stands.¹

The marble Mantelpieces in the old buildings in Downing Street which constituted the Foreign Office were beautifully carved, and most of them are, at the present moment, in the new building.

One of the rooms in the attics, facing Downing Street, was set apart for some of the young gentlemen of the office. This was called the "Nursery," and here they used to pass away any spare time which they might have on their hands. A piano was provided—not by H.M.'s Government, but at their own cost—as well as foils, single-sticks, boxing gloves, and other sources of amusement. My readers will probably smile at this, but many were the happy days spent and lasting friendships made in this juvenile abode of bliss; but it should be remembered that, although the office hours were fixed, these supposed idlers, who have been compared to the Trafalgar Square fountains, because it was said they "played from ten to four," were very frequently detained at the office until eight or nine o'clock in the evening, and often later still during the sitting of Parliament, for when Lord Palmerston was Secretary of State he

¹ The meetings of the Cabinet were held in the Foreign Office until 1856, when they were transferred to the official residence of the First Lord of the Treasury, at No. 10, Downing Street. The Cabinet Room at the Foreign Office was, however, still held at the disposal of Cabinet Ministers, and boxes of despatches were placed there for their perusal.

expected, on his return from the House of Commons, to find someone in attendance, to carry out any instructions which he might have to give. Many were also in attendance on Sundays.

But whatever the British public may think, after reading this narrative, of the apparently lax way in which the business of the Foreign Office was conducted in those days, the highly creditable manner in which the clerks invariably performed their duties was fully recognised by Lord Palmerston on each occasion when he retired from the Foreign Office, and official minutes to that effect have been laid before Parliament. (See page 64.)

Certain pretty dressmakers occupied rooms in one of the houses in Fludyer Street, just opposite the windows of the rooms occupied by some of these same "frivolous youths." A mutual recognition generally took place every morning between some of them. In one of these rooms there used to be one gentleman with a round head and another with red hair, and should the former first open his window, the young ladies opposite, who generally worked with their windows open, would call out, "Good morning, Turnips, how's Carrots?"; and should the latter be the first to appear, the salutation would be, "Good morning, Carrots, how's Turnips?"

One day the youths in the "Nursery" arranged a looking-glass in their own room in such a manner as to throw the sun's rays straight into these young ladies faces and on to their work, and as these little jokes were repeated on other days when the sun permitted, complaints were made against the

practice, not, I believe, by the parties themselves, but by residents in the same street, who were annoyed at what they saw going on. The complaints were addressed to Lord Palmerston, who was then Foreign Secretary, and his lordship thereupon wrote a minute, in which he inquired, "Who are these unmannerly youths who have been casting Reflections on young ladies opposite?" This was considered a very mild and jocular rebuke, and as an apology was at once offered and the practice discontinued, no further notice was taken of it.

It was not an uncommon practice for the occupants of the upper rooms facing Fludyer Street to let down strings of red tape from the top windows and haul up pottles (as the long baskets were then called) of strawberries, which they had purchased from fruit-sellers in the street, and I remember on one occasion a youth in my own department (the Library) saying to his fellow-clerks, as the pottles were passing his window, "What fun it would be if someone was to cut that tape!", when one of his colleagues exclaimed, "I dare you!" "You dare me?" inquired the youth. "Yes, I dare you," the other repeated. No sooner had he said the words a second time than the tape was cut, and down fell into the area below four pottles of beautiful strawberries, which were being most carefully lifted up by the expectants in the department above. A row, of course, ensued, but it was soon settled by the payment of the cost of the strawberries, accompanied by a promise not to repeat the offence. Shortly before George Mason, the library messenger, retired, in 1869, I asked him if he had been long enough in

the office to remember this practice, when he replied, "Yes, sir, I remember it well, for I was then foreman to the bookbinder, whose rooms looked into the area, and didn't we have a feast off those strawberries when they fell!"

This practice must have continued until 1854, if not later, for when the Earl of Kimberley was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in March, 1894, and I had the honour of an interview with his lordship on his arrival at the Foreign Office, he asked me if I remembered when we used to draw up the pottles of strawberries from Fludyer Street in the time of the old office, which I told him I did, perfectly well. But although the clerks indulged in those practices, I never knew before that the Under Secretaries of State indulged in them also. The Earl of Kimberley, when Lord Wodehouse, was Under Secretary of State from December 28, 1852, till April 10, 1854, and again from June 19, 1859, till August 15, 1861, and it was probably the practice at the earlier of these dates that he was alluding to.

But it must be admitted that the junior officials just mentioned were not the only ones who were somewhat frivolous in their behaviour; for besides the pastimes which took place in the "Nursery," some of the clerks who occupied rooms in the upper floors facing Fludyer Street used occasionally to amuse themselves by pea shooting and throwing water over organ-grinders who disturbed them at their work. I remember on one occasion that when water was thrown over an offending organ-grinder, the man put down his organ and picked up a good

big stone, which he threw with all his force through a window at the heads of his assailants. I was in the room at the time, and placed myself safely between two windows, whilst one of my companions took refuge under his desk, so that no serious bodily harm was done, but I think it had the effect of stopping the attack on the organ-grinders.

But other complaints were made by gentlemen whose servants' liveries were soiled by having water accidentally thrown over them when the organ-grinders were attacked, so that this practical joking had to be officially forbidden. "Hot coppers" were, I believe, also thrown to the organ-grinders at times as a hint to them to depart.

The Printed Library suffered under a misnomer, as there was no room set apart for the reception of the books, except one small room in the basement, the volumes being dispersed throughout the passages of the office wherever space could be found for the erection of a few shelves for their reception, no matter how dark or inaccessible such spots might be. The books were also arranged, as a rule, in rows of three deep, one behind the other, so that the difficulty experienced in finding a book readily can well be imagined.

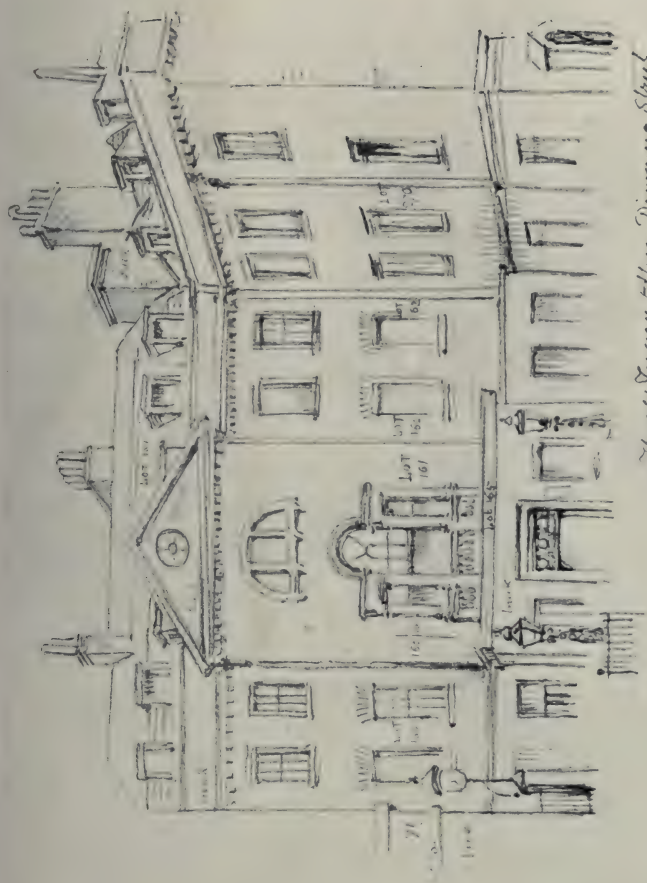
In his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Diplomatic and Consular Services, in 1878, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Hammond spoke thus of this Library :—

"These books are very valuable, both for their worth and for daily reference, for our own purposes. It is only since we have got into the new office that we have had ready access to them. In the

old office in Downing Street they were put in cellars and in rickety rooms where there was not the slightest protection from fire, not the slightest means of access to them, no catalogue, and no means of knowing what we had. When we went into the house in Whitehall Gardens there was a large kitchen, cellars, and some rooms adjoining in which we managed to pile the books and make a catalogue of them. Now we have got a proper Library, and certainly I was never more surprised—and I believe the Librarian was equally surprised—than when I found the vast accumulation of valuable books which we possessed, but never had any means of access to.”

The Manuscript Library, which at that time (1840) comprised about five thousand volumes—the earlier ones being deposited at the State Paper Office—was kept partly in what was termed the Reference Room; but the other volumes were distributed throughout the passages of the office in wooden presses with locked doors, but without any protection whatever against fire.

The Reference Room, in which the Sub-Librarian and I sat, was for many years on the ground floor, with windows looking into Fludyer Street; but the Librarian's room was on a floor above, in another part of the building—a most inconvenient arrangement. A few years before we left the old office a rearrangement of the official rooms of the office took place, when the Reference Room was transferred to a room on the ground floor facing Downing Street, and a room adjoining it was assigned to the Librarian; but it was so small, dark, and inconvenient in every way that he was



The old Foreign Office Downing Street

ES 31st October 1861.

MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE

From a drawing by Sir George Scharf, R.C.B.

[To face page 28]

forced to do the greater part of his more important work, which consisted in the preparation of memoranda for the use of the Secretary of State, at his own private house, No. 16, Great College Street, Westminster, close at hand.

There was no Register or Index to the bound MS. correspondence before 1810, but in that year my father suggested the following "Plan," which was adopted, and it has proved to be of the greatest value in making researches in the office. It has also been adopted, I am told, by more than one foreign Government for the registering and indexing of its MS. archives; but I regret to hear that another system has been adopted during the last few years.

"PLAN proposed for a Register or Digest of the whole of the Correspondence of the Foreign Department, and for forming an Index thereto.

"By the Librarian.¹

"1. The Series of Papers belonging to the different countries to be arranged in conformity with the list subjoined, assigning to each country two or more specified letters, for the purpose of distinguishing them in the Index.

"2. The Number, Date, Name of Person, and Description of each Dispatch, Letter, etc., to be regularly entered, monthly, into the Book appropriated for the Register according to the said Order of Arrangement.

"3. The Dispatches from the British Ministers, Consuls, and Agents at Foreign Courts, and the Colonies dependent thereon, with the drafts of their

¹ Mr. Lewis Hertslet.

Instructions, and all Letters and Communications from the different parts of the said Countries, and the Answers thereto, to constitute the Foreign part of the Register, and to be entered separately in the Order above mentioned.

“4. The Notes, etc., of the Ministers, Consuls, and Agents from Foreign Courts resident in England, together with the Communications from the different Departments of the State, and all other Letters or Papers relating to each particular country forwarded from any part of Great Britain, when arranged in order of dates and divided according to the List above mentioned, to be considered as forming the Domestic part of the Register.

“5. The Foreign and Domestic parts of the Digest to be bound together, comprising a year's correspondence.

“6. The Index, entered in a separate volume, to include the names of the Persons, Places, Ships, and Subjects adverted to, and principally concerned, in the Register—referring to the year (by the insertion of the terminating Figures), the abridged name of the Country, and the Pages of the Register wherein the Papers or Subject required is contained—to be arranged in alphabetic order, and, for the greater facility of access to the reference, the left-hand side of the Book to contain the Names of Persons, Places, and Ships, and the opposite Pages to be appropriated solely for the insertion of the Matter or Subject.

“FOREIGN OFFICE,
“18th July, 1810.”

Then followed a List of Countries, with proposed abbreviations of names, etc.

In connection with the Library the following incidents may be mentioned.

In July, 1844, Sir James Graham, who was then Home Secretary, was accused of opening letters addressed to Mazzini and other foreigners then in this country as refugees, and an illustration appeared in *Punch*, representing Sir James, dressed as Paul Pry, squeezing the sides of a letter and peering into its contents. I well remember a gentleman coming into the library one afternoon and inquiring whether there was any letter for him from abroad. The Sub-Librarian did not catch the name which he gave, but knowing that there was a question going on about letters arriving in this country from abroad, suggested that he should apply to the Home Office. "No," was the indignant reply, "I will not go to the Home Office; my name is Mazzini," and he bounced out of the room, much to the astonishment of the Sub-Librarian, who was at a loss to conceive what he had said to give offence; but when he was told that the intruder had declared that his name was Mazzini, the Sub-Librarian at once saw that he had quite unintentionally added insult to injury by telling him that there were no letters for him at the Foreign Office, but that he had better apply to the office where it was generally suspected that letters for foreigners were opened and examined. Although nearly sixty years have passed since this incident occurred, I have a perfect recollection of the appearance of Mazzini as he then entered the Foreign Office Library, and of the rapidity with which he left it.

The Sub-Librarian was an elderly gentleman, of a somewhat nervous temperament; and I am sorry to say that we youngsters (for we were all youths at

this time, now nearer sixty than fifty years ago), used to take great delight in teasing him. One morning as he entered his room, feeling somewhat unwell and perhaps more nervous than usual on that account, he addressed us thus: "I wish to have no conversation with you young gentlemen this morning except upon official business." Upon hearing this we all hung down our heads, as if busily engaged on our work, and said nothing, but before his arrival we had taken the heads off a box of wax lucifer matches, and had stuffed up the pipe of the key with which he opened his desk. On reaching his desk he sat down and tried to unlock it, but finding a difficulty in so doing, he said aloud, "I suspect you young gentlemen have been playing tricks with my key," to which we made no reply, but kept our heads down more closely to our desks than ever, although we found no little difficulty in suppressing our laughter, knowing what would inevitably happen in a few moments. Peeping up, we saw him take from a drawer of his desk a long, thick needle, used for stitching papers together with silk (which was then the practice), and insert it into the pipe of the key for the purpose of removing whatever obstruction there might be, when a loud "bang" was heard, upon which the nervous Sub-Librarian sprang to his feet, and raising the keys over his head dashed them into the fireplace, exclaiming as he did so, "Now I will go and report you all to the Under Secretary of State," and out of the room he rushed. But he was far too good-natured to carry out his threat, and after walking up and down the



*Buildings constructed with
the Foreign Office seen from the Park.*

G.S. November 1st 1861.

parent - ground -

Fludyer Street Private House
THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE, FACING ST. JAMES'S PARK

passage for a few minutes, he returned to his desk, and the lock now being opened without difficulty, the business of the day was proceeded with as if nothing unusual had happened.

Just before I entered the Foreign Office a fire broke out, which might have been productive of very serious results. It took place in the Manuscript Library, known as the Reference Room, on the ground floor, in which the Sub-Librarian, my uncle, sat.

An official inquiry, presided over by Lord Palmerston, who was then Foreign Secretary, was held as to its origin, and on my uncle being called upon to give evidence, he commenced thus:—

“Two little boys, my nephews, came to see me one evening” (it was during the Christmas holidays in 1830), “and seeing a large fire blazing in the grate, they put their heads down on the hearthrug and, looking up the chimney, exclaimed, ‘Oh, uncle, your chimney is on fire!’” I was one of those little boys. My uncle then went on to say that some coals were, in consequence, taken off, and the size of the fire was considerably reduced. On the housekeeper being communicated with, orders were given for the chimneys to be swept, and the next morning a chimney-sweeper, a very small climbing-boy, arrived, and was sent up the chimney. On coming down again, after sweeping it in the ordinary manner, the little sweeper declared that everything was “all right,” and that there was no appearance of any red-hot soot remaining. But he had overlooked a flue on one side of the chimney, where a mass of soot had accumulated and was still

smouldering unobserved. The next day, when the office was in full work, and some of the clerks belonging to other departments of the office were in the Reference Room making inquiries, down came a large piece of the wall near the fireplace, without the smallest warning, and out burst the flames. One of the clerks visiting the Reference Room at the time was Mr. Adolphus Turner, who afterwards became H.M.'s *Chargé d'Affaires* and Consul-General at Monte Video. Seeing the danger, he at once jumped on to one of the dwarf presses in the room, and on his shouting loudly for help, an active little housemaid quickly appeared carrying a pail of water, and having deposited this she fetched another, and yet another; Mr. Turner dashed these against the opening in the wall, and succeeded in keeping the flames under until the fire-engines arrived. In the meantime a messenger had been despatched to the Horse Guards, close by, with an appeal for assistance, and a number of Life Guardsmen, in undress uniform, rapidly appeared on the scene. They quickly proceeded to take the MS. volumes down from the shelves in the presses, and made arrangements for throwing them out into Fludyer Street, as soon as the public should have been excluded by the police. But, fortunately, this was not necessary, as the fire was soon got under by the firemen. Lord Palmerston was soon on the spot, when an official peeped into the room, and seeing his lordship there, called out, for a joke, "For G—'s sake take care of the protocols!" Lord Palmerston, who was at that time nicknamed "Protocol Palmerston," was evidently much annoyed

at the remark, and turned sharply round to see who had dared to allude to him in that familiar and improper manner, but the official (who was well known in the office) was too quick for him, and rushing down the short flight of stairs which stood in the passage, just outside the door of the room, two or three steps at a time, he escaped out of the office.

Lord Palmerston then went upstairs to the top of the house, and entering the room in the attic in which the translator (Mr. Huttner, an old gentleman) sat, he inquired, "Have you any valuable books in this room, Mr. Huttner?" The translator, who was a German, looked up, and not knowing who it was who was addressing him, coolly inquired, "And what if I have?" "Oh! nothing, if you have," rejoined Lord Palmerston; "but I suppose you know that the house is on fire?" Upon hearing which Mr. Huttner sprang to his feet, and paced up and down the room exclaiming, "Oh! mein Gott! mein Gott!" upon which Lord Palmerston closed the door and left him, and went downstairs again to the ground floor, by which time the fire had been entirely extinguished.

Mr. Turner also gave evidence before the Committee of Inquiry into the origin of the fire, and how it was subdued, when he was thanked for his timely exertions, and as it was hinted to him that the Government was anxious to recognise his services in some manner, he repudiated all idea of his receiving any reward, observing that he had simply done his duty; but I remember being told that he begged hard that some substantial reward might be given to the energetic little housemaid who had

brought him the pails of water so quickly, which had enabled him to keep the flames under, and but for whose exertions the fire would probably have had a far more disastrous effect; but all to no purpose—she got nothing! at least so I was told.

The manuscript volumes have always been bound in the office. In the old office, dark and damp cellars were deemed sufficient for the bookbinder's accommodation; but it proved to be a most unhealthy and unsatisfactory arrangement, and even during the temporary transfer of the office to Whitehall Gardens no great improvement was made, as the rooms assigned to the bookbinder and his staff were those which formerly adjoined the boathouse, and were consequently very damp. But far better accommodation has been provided in the new office.

Golding Collins was the bookbinder when I first entered the office, and since his death, which took place many years ago, the binding of the manuscript volumes, as well as of the printed books, has been entrusted to his son Edward Collins; and it is only fair to say that each of them has in his turn proved himself to be thoroughly honest and trustworthy, although the appointment is not an official one.

The story of the bookbinder's Cat has often been told in the office, and it may perhaps be interesting to relate it here.

In the passage leading to the bookbinder's rooms, in the basement of the old office, a long series of bound volumes of the *Times* and some other newspapers were arranged on shelves; and

one day, one of the large tomes being required for reference, it was taken upstairs by the messenger, and a vacant space was for some time left in the rack.

In due course the volume was sent downstairs again to be replaced, when the cat, hearing someone approaching down the passage, rushed into the vacant space for safety; but, alas! it proved to be its sepulchre, for its movement being unobserved, the heavy volume was put into its place again, and poor pussy was buried alive and starved to death behind the books. Some little time after this, bad smells were complained of by the bookbinder and others, and the Board of Works being communicated with, a labourer who had been employed about the building for many years was told to search for a drain along this passage. Whilst so employed, a gentleman from the Colonial Office, who had occasion to speak to the Foreign Office bookbinder, saw this old man hard at work taking up the flagstones, and on asking him what he was doing, he replied that a bad smell had existed in the passage for some days, and that he was searching for the drain. "Drain!" exclaimed the gentleman, "why, you know very well there is no drain here, and that all the drains run in another direction"; to which the old man simply replied, "Please, sir, I'm obeying my orders," and he went on with his digging; but it need scarcely be added that he found no drain. When the old office was about to be removed temporarily from Downing Street to Whitehall Gardens, these heavy books had to be taken down from the racks for the purpose of removal, and in due course the workmen discovered

the mortal remains of the cat lying on its side, with its black fur still preserved, as if asleep; but the moment the air touched it the black hair arose and vanished, and there lay the skeleton of the cat, covered, apparently, with white parchment stretched tightly over it. There was no longer any doubt in my mind as to where the foul smell had come from, which had so long disturbed the office; but, curiously enough, I never heard the dead cat assigned as having been the cause of it.

The incident was deemed so curious that the skeleton of the cat was put into a large red despatch box and sent up to the Secretary of State (then Lord John Russell) for his inspection; and I was told at the time that the box containing the cat was also sent round to members of the Cabinet. The skeleton is still in existence, I believe, and when I last heard of it it was in the possession of Mrs. Mason, the widow of George Mason, for many years the messenger of the Foreign Office Library.

The collection of MS. Treaties is a very interesting one, and several royal personages honoured me with visits for the purpose of inspecting them when I held the office of Librarian. One day the late Queen Emma of the Netherlands was ushered into my room by the late Earl of Derby, when Foreign Secretary, and on Her Majesty asking me to show her some treaties which I considered most interesting, I produced first the Vienna Congress Treaty of 1815, then other well-known political treaties, then Queen Victoria's Marriage Treaty,

and lastly the Treaty for the Marriage of Princess Charlotte in 1816. Why I selected this last one I know not, but the moment the Queen of the Netherlands saw it she exclaimed, "Oh! the poor dear Princess Charlotte's Marriage Treaty! I am so pleased to have seen it, you could not have shown me anything which interested me more; she was my dearest friend."

Another day the Emperor Frederick of Germany, when Crown Prince, was conducted into my room also by the late Earl of Derby, for the purpose of seeing these treaties, and among those which I exhibited was the treaty of March 13, 1871, between the Great Powers of Europe, formally consenting to the abrogation of the clauses of the treaty of March 30, 1856, which placed restrictions on the Russian and Turkish naval forces in the Black Sea. His Majesty seemed much struck by the massive iron safes in which these original treaties are kept (I believe they weigh five tons), and, smiling, observed, "You are evidently determined that no one shall break your treaties."

Some time after this a gentleman came over to me from the Colonial Office, accompanied by a friend, and on his asking if he could be allowed to see some of the original treaties, I readily consented, and proceeded to show them amongst others the Treaty of Peace signed between the Powers at Paris at the close of the Crimean War, on March 30, 1856, and to which was attached the separate treaty between Russia and Turkey of the same date. This is generally known as the "Black Sea Treaty," and by it those

Powers mutually agreed to a limitation of their naval forces in the Black Sea. I drew the special attention of these two gentlemen to this treaty, saying, "This is the Black Sea Treaty, concluded between Russia and Turkey in 1856," and, pointing to the invocation at the heading, I said, "Here is the appeal to the Almighty that they will never break it"—"*Au Nom de Dieu tout puissant*"; but I added that, in 1871, the Emperor of Russia declared that he would no longer be bound by it. The moment I said this, my friend from the Colonial Office smiled and said, "Oh, I should have introduced my friend to you; he is a Russian." I did not attempt to apologise, but merely said, "You clearly understand I am only showing you an historical document"; but he did not seem to care about remaining to see any more "interesting historical documents."

On the 6th July, 1827, a treaty was signed between Great Britain, France, and Russia, for the pacification of Greece, on the understanding that it was to be kept secret; but it was shortly afterwards published in the *Times* newspaper. This disclosure of the treaty naturally caused great excitement both in this country and on the Continent. The French Government at once issued a circular, with the object of showing not only that the breach of trust had not been committed by them, but that it was the English copy which had been made public. In reply to this Lord Dudley, who was then Foreign Secretary, addressed a circular to H.M.'s representatives abroad (July 30, 1827) pointing out how improbable it was that the betrayal of trust had been com-

mitted by any person in this country, inasmuch as words appeared in the *Times* copy which never existed in any Foreign Office copy, but which were to be found in the copies of the French and Russian Embassies. The following is a copy of the English circular which was written on that occasion :—

“The extraordinary publication in the *Times* newspaper of the treaty concluded between Great Britain, France, and Russia, for the pacification of the Levant,¹ has no doubt attracted your attention, as well as that of the Government to which you are accredited. It is hardly necessary to remark that it could only have taken place either through a flagrant breach of trust, or from—what it is impossible to suspect—some political motive on the part of one of the signing or contracting parties.

“H.M.’s Government have not been remiss in investigating, as far as lay in their power, every circumstance which could, in any way, throw light upon this disgraceful transaction.

“Without possessing undeniable proof of the actual perpetrator, H.M.’s Government was unwilling, merely with a view to absolve the Foreign Office, to make any declaration respecting it. Having, however, this morning learnt that the French Government have thought proper to address a circular, having for its object not only to contradict any participation on their part in the communication of this treaty to the public journals, but also to point out the circumstances of Great Britain being named the first of the three contracting Powers, as a proof that the English copy of the treaty must have been that which was transcribed, it now becomes an imperative duty upon me, not only to declare that H.M.’s Government witnessed the

¹ July 6th, 1827.

publication of this treaty with surprise and indignation, and deplored it as a public misfortune, but also positively to affirm that there does not exist the smallest reason to suppose that it was occasioned by a breach of confidence in any person belonging to this department. This I am enabled to state with the more confidence because the treaty, in the shape in which it was at length signed, was entrusted to the custody of an individual whose honour and integrity, during twenty-five years of service in this office, under successive Secretaries of State, place him beyond the reach of suspicion.¹

“It is impossible not to observe upon the strange inaccuracy of that mode of reasoning, by which the order in which the signatures to the treaty appeared in the *Times*, is adduced as an evidence of the quarter whence the communication of the copy itself came.

“It cannot be supposed that the person who divulged the secret should have overlooked a mode so obvious to a man of business experience, of misleading the ignorant and inconsiderate part of the public.

“Nay, if we were once to suppose that the author of this treachery were in a situation to be consulted afterwards upon the subject by his official superiors, would not he probably be the first to suggest a circumstance contrived by himself, as an argument by which suspicion might be averted from the guilty, and directed towards an innocent quarter?

“There is one other fact to which I wish to direct your attention. It is undoubtedly true that certain verbal mistakes, which existed only in the Foreign Office copy, appeared in that given by the *Times*. These mistakes existed only for a few hours, and in that copy only; which, after having

¹ Mr. Lewis Hertslet.

been corrected in the presence both of the Russian and French Secretaries, was subsequently signed. This fact, taken singly, might lead to an inference—that the *English* copy was betrayed to the *Times*, and by English hands. But that inference is precluded by another fact, equally true, and utterly irreconcilable with it, namely, that words appear in the *Times* copy which never existed in any Foreign Office copy, but which were to be found in the copies both of the French and Russian Embassies. It is, therefore, perfectly obvious that the knowledge of the person that betrayed the secret was not confined to the Foreign Office copy; but that he was equally aware of the variations from it, existing in those belonging to the French and Russian Embassies, and might, therefore, as far as any reasoning goes that can be founded upon this particular fact, with equal likelihood be supposed to belong to either of the three nations.”

Bearing on the subject of treaties, the following incident may now be mentioned to show how the ratification of a treaty with a foreign country which had been lost by that country for many years was eventually recovered and restored:—

In November, 1877, the late Commander G. C. Musters, R.N., called upon me one day at the Foreign Office with an introduction from Mr. (now Sir) Clements Markham. He held in his hand a brown paper parcel, which he opened and produced therefrom the original ratification of our treaty with Bolivia of September 29, 1840. He said he had resided in Bolivia for about three years, and that on one occasion, during a revolution at Sucre, all the official archives were thrown out of the windows of the public offices into the street,

when the majority of them were destroyed by the populace; and that as he happened to be passing by at the time and saw a large thin book bound in crimson velvet, he had the curiosity to pick it up and look into it, when he found it to be the original ratification of a treaty between England and Bolivia. He therefore retained it in his possession until he came to England, when he brought it to the Foreign Office and delivered it to me. He said he set no value upon it whatever, but merely brought it to me as a curiosity. The usual wax seal in a silver box was missing, and there was only one tassel (and that very much soiled) to the ratification when he found it.

A minute to the above effect was sent up by me to the late Lord Derby, who was then Foreign Secretary, who wrote upon it: "This is a curious story." It was then passed on to Lord Tenterden, who returned it to me, and I placed the ratification in a cupboard in my room for safety.

Eighteen years after this—that is to say, on December 5, 1895—the Bolivian Minister in Chile addressed an official letter to Colonel (now Sir James) Hayes Sadler, who was then H.M.'s Consul-General at Valparaiso, in which he stated that the original commercial treaty with Great Britain of September 29, 1840, had been lost, and asked him if he would apply to the British Government for a legalised copy of the ratification of that treaty for the use of his Government; and on Colonel Hayes Sadler's despatch being shown to me, I at once saw that this was the very document which was found by

Commander Musters, and handed over to me in 1877. It was accordingly sent to Colonel Hayes Sadler, to be returned to the Bolivian Minister, together with the purport of the minute which I had written at the time, showing how it came into the possession of the British Government.

Commander G. C. Musters, R.N., was employed for some months in the Foreign Office, and was appointed to be H.M.'s Consul for the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa, to reside at Mozambique, September 23, 1878; but he died, before proceeding to his post, January 25, 1879.

A word may now be said about the printer and his staff.

In the old office, rooms were assigned to the printer's reader and his staff in the attics in that portion of the old building which overlooked Fludyer Street. This arrangement was always productive of very great inconvenience, and, as time went on, it became a serious question how much longer these rickety old shored-up buildings would bear the weight of the printer's machines, the ever-increasing mass of type, and the accumulation of his "formes," as it was becoming positively dangerous to allow such a heavy weight to remain any longer at the top of the house, but, fortunately, no mishap occurred. The whole mass of these buildings was eventually taken down to make room for the new offices. The printing of the confidential correspondence with foreign courts, etc., was all done then, as it is now, under the roof of the office.

Mr. Thomas Harrison was then the printer. His establishment for printing ordinary non-confidential work was in Orchard Street, Westminster, a very narrow street leading out of King Street, and when these premises were pulled down, many years ago, the printing establishment for non-confidential work was removed to St. Martin's Lane. Mr. Thomas Harrison's father and grandfather had both held the same official appointment, besides that of printers to the *London Gazette*. The name of Thomas Harrison first appeared as printer of the *London Gazette* on April 17, 1756, and it is still printed and published by that firm.

On March 23, 1847, Thomas Richard Harrison succeeded his father as printer to the Foreign Office, and he held that appointment until April 29, 1869, when he died.

On May 6 of the same year his eldest son, Thomas Harrison, was appointed to succeed him; but the printing of the confidential correspondence was really superintended by a younger son, James W. Harrison. Thomas Harrison died on April 25, 1896.

The Harrison family—the firm now being Harrison and Sons—has had entrusted to them for many years, not only the printing of the confidential correspondence of the Foreign Office, but also that of the War and Colonial Offices, the Treasury, and other Government departments, and it is only an act of common justice to them and to their staff to state that there has never been an instance, I believe, certainly not within my knowledge, in which that trust has been misplaced.

Sir Sydney Waterlow, Bart., who, in addition to his having held many other important offices, was Lord Mayor of London in 1872-3, learnt his trade as a printer under Mr. Thomas Harrison at the Foreign Office, and he has informed me that he often received my father's instructions for printing some of the earlier portions of *Hertslet's Commercial Treaties*, to which reference will be found later on (p. 145); and it may be mentioned as a curious coincidence that, before I was aware of the above facts, I presented a handsomely bound set of these volumes, so far as they were then published, to the Guildhall Library at the time when Sir Sydney Waterlow, who had spent, as he said, many days and weeks in composing the pages of this work, was Lord Mayor of London.

The chief manager of the printing department at the Foreign Office, and corrector of the Press for foreign languages — under Mr. Harrison — was formerly Mr. P. S. King, who held that office for many years; but he resigned in 1852, when he purchased the business of parliamentary bookseller in premises formerly situated at the corner of Bridge Street and Parliament Street; but this business was removed to King Street, Westminster, when the old corner house was pulled down to improve the approach to new Westminster Bridge, and when King Street was also recently pulled down to make room for the extension of the Public Offices in Whitehall, the business was removed to Orchard House, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

On the retirement of Mr. King, Mr. John Joseph

Olding was on January 30, 1853, appointed by Mr. Harrison to be Mr. King's successor.

On April 24, 1862, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Hammond, when Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, wrote Mr. Olding a testimonial, from which the following is an extract :—

“ I can, without the slightest hesitation, give John Joseph Olding the highest testimonial ; and I am sure that every person engaged in carrying on the business of the Foreign Office will concur with me in my estimation of his conduct. I have uniformly found him accurate as regards the printing, not only in English, but also in foreign languages ; trustworthy, willing, intelligent, indefatigable, however much of his time and bodily strength may have been taxed, to meet the pressing demands which are constantly made on the printing establishment of the Foreign Office ; and I have more than once felt it my duty to bring his merits before the Secretary of State, and have had the satisfaction to obtain for him rewards which were justly due to his zealous exertions in the discharge of his duties.”

There was formerly a little joke told in the office about a misprint which, it was said, once occurred in a printed paper and was overlooked. The story was that a despatch was once written by one of H.M.'s ministers abroad to the Secretary of State, in which the minister, after relating what had passed between himself and the Foreign Minister of the country to which he was accredited, concluded his despatch by saying that His Excellency had ended the conversation by making the following “ filthy ” remark. Attention having been called to this, the



St. George's Office

J.B. May 12th 1882 Am. 6.7.45 A.M.

APPEARANCE OF THE SITE AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE

From a drawing by Sir George Scharf, K.C.B.

passage alluded to was most carefully scrutinised by several clerks in the office, but without discovering anything whatever "filthy" in it. The print was then collated again with the MS., when it was found that the word was not "filthy," but "pithy." How the story got about I have never discovered, and it is only fair to Mr. Olding and the printers to bear witness to the fact that I never saw a paper in which such a misprint occurred, and that I firmly believe it to have been a "canard." Its existence has been indignantly denied by Mr. Olding, who has challenged the production of the paper, but it has never been discovered.

On April 1, 1872, Mr. Olding was granted by the Foreign Secretary an official allowance as manager of the printing establishment of the Foreign Office, and corrector of the Press for foreign languages—under Mr. Harrison—which post he still holds, and I am sure it would be to the great benefit of the office that he should long be spared to do so.

No doubt errors have occasionally but very rarely crept into Blue Books prepared for Parliament generally in the most hurried manner; but it would be most unfair to lay the blame for these rare occurrences on the Foreign Office printer.

It will be remembered that attention was once called in Parliament to an error which occurred in the translation of a paper which was laid, and in which reference was made to vessels "venant sur lest" as vessels "coming from the East," instead of "vessels in ballast"; and I remember, many years ago, another Blue Book being laid before Parliament, respecting the proceedings of the Dutch in the East

Indies, in which attention was called to the number of Netherlands ships of war in those seas, and by an error in the translation it was stated that they had one more ship there than they really had—"Le Pyroscaphe L'Hécla" having been translated "*The Pyroscaphe* and *The Hecla*," instead of "the steamer *Hecla*." But owing to pressure of business and the urgent demands of Parliament, the assistance of translators outside the office had to be called in.

One word more in praise of the printing department of the office.

Some few years ago—since the erection of the new offices—two French gentlemen came over to London, deputed by the French Government, to inspect the printing establishment of the Foreign Office, with a view to ascertain what precautions were taken to preserve the secrecy of the confidential printing. Sir Julian (now Lord) Pauncefote, then Permanent Under Secretary, Sir Francis Alston, then Chief Clerk, and myself accompanied these French gentlemen, and showed them over the printing department, after seeing which, and having matters explained to them as to how it was conducted, they expressed their great surprise. One of them inquired what official rank was given to the chief superintendent of so important an office; and on being told that the management was entrusted to Mr. Harrison who appointed his chief reader (who was then, and is still, Mr. Olding) to superintend it, and that there was no Government official whatever appointed over him, they expressed still greater surprise, and raising their hands, exclaimed, "C'est merveilleux!" and really so it is, and Messrs.

Harrison may justly be proud of having had such implicit confidence placed in them for such a very long period ; but they have shown by their conduct that it has been well deserved.

There was no Gas in my early days ; and the office rooms were lighted by oil lamps and wax candles. The unconsumed ends of these candles were allowed to be retained by the house-keeper as her perquisite, and they were sold by her to the gentlemen in the office for a small sum, and taken away by them to their own private residences where they were duly appreciated by the female branch of their establishments, as the wax was of exceptionally good quality. But there can be no doubt that this practice was a highly objectionable one, being open to great abuse, although no suspicion was ever attached to our good old house-keeper, Mrs. Watson, of her having abused her little privilege.

Lifts were not used in the old office ; consequently the Coals which were required in the different rooms had to be carried up the different staircases, of which there were several in the building. One man performed that duty single-handed. He had a yoke across his shoulders, and carried up two scuttles of coal at a time ; each scuttle containing about half a hundredweight. He was an old man, diminutive in stature, and having a very weakly appearance, and it often excited one's pity to see this poor old creature staggering up the stairs under his heavy burthen. His task was to carry up half a ton of coals altogether each morning during the cold weather. He was an honest old fellow, and after

he had had a "wash and brush up" the gentlemen used occasionally to employ him to run errands and execute little commissions for them ; so I suppose he found it worth his while to stick to his arduous duties as coal porter as long as his health and strength would permit him to do so.

CHAPTER III

DOWNING STREET AND FLUDYER STREET

DOWNING STREET was so called after Sir George Downing, of East Hatley in Cambridgeshire, who, when Mr. Downing, was sent by Cromwell on a mission to Holland; but, after the Restoration, Mr. Downing became a Royalist, and was appointed Secretary to the Treasury, when the office of Lord High Treasurer was in commission (May, 1667) on the death of Lord Southampton.

Downing Street was a narrow street of from twenty-five to thirty feet in width, which ended in a *cul-de-sac*.

The street is described by Strype as being—in 1698—"a pretty open space, especially at the upper end, where are four or five very large and well-built houses, fit for persons of honour and quality, each house having a pleasant prospect into St. James's Park, with a terras (*sic*) walk."¹

A drawing of the upper end of Downing Street is preserved in the British Museum (Portfolio xvi.), and another of the houses as they appeared facing St. James's Park (No. 63*).

The United States Ambassador in London, the

¹ STRYPE, B. vi. p. 63; WHEATLEY and CUNNINGHAM'S *London: Past and Present*, vol. i. p. 519.

Hon. Joseph H. Choate, in a speech made at the Mansion House on November 9, 1900,¹ claimed that Downing Street was an American street, and that it derived its origin and its history from the earliest periods of the English colonies in America. He mentioned that at the school which he attended in Massachusetts, over the archway at the entrance there were inscribed the words, "Schola publica prima"—the first school organised in Massachusetts,—and underneath was inscribed the name of George Downing, the first pupil educated at that school. Mr. Choate then went on to say that Mr. Downing went to Harvard College, where he graduated in the first year that it sent any youths into the world, the year 1642; that he found his way to England, and became the chaplain of Colonel Oakey's army under Cromwell, and soon began to display the most extraordinary faculties in the art of diplomacy of any man of his day. He first hoodwinked Cromwell himself, and persuaded him to send him as Ambassador to the Hague. After the Protector died, he hoodwinked the "Rump," and they re-appointed him Ambassador to the Hague; and when the Restoration came he practised his wily arts upon the Merry Monarch, and induced him to send him again as Ambassador to the Hague; and finally induced the king to grant him a great tract of land at Westminster, provided, or so the grant ran, that the houses to be built upon the grounds so near the Royal Palace should be handsome and graceful. So he built himself a house, possibly in Whitehall, and he built more

¹ *Times*, November 10, 1900.

mansions between there and Westminster Abbey ; and the old annals of the time describe these houses as pleasant mansions, "having a back front upon St. James's Park"—an exact description of the Foreign Office, for it also has a back fronting on St. James's Park, and really it is the most important side, because that is where H.M.'s Minister for Foreign Affairs always finds his way in and out with a private key by the back front-door. In the natural course of things George Downing died, and by his will he divided his mansion and estate and his farm at Westminster among his children ; and now they are long since gone, leaving no trace behind except a little bit of ground one hundred yards long and twenty yards wide, sometimes narrowing to ten, which still bears his illustrious name. It is the smallest and at the same time the greatest street in the world, because it lies at the hub of the gigantic wheel which encircles the globe under the name of the British Empire.

At the beginning of the last century there was no other official residence in the street than the house which belonged by right of office to the First Lord of the Treasury—No. 10—but by degrees one house was bought after another ; first the Foreign Office, increased afterwards by three other houses ; then the Colonial Office ; then the house in the north corner, which was the Judge Advocate's, afterwards added to the Colonial Office ; then a house for the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and lastly a whole row of lodging-houses, chiefly for Scotch and Irish members.¹

¹ WHEATLEY and CUNNINGHAM'S *London: Past and Present*, vol. i. p. 519.

Downing Street has a world-wide reputation from the fact of No. 10 having been the official headquarters of successive Prime Ministers, although all have not lived in it. Still, both Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone used it as a residence.

The house, No. 10, became, early in the last century, the property of the Government, and King George the Second gave it to Baron Bothmar, the Hanoverian Minister, for life. At his death the King offered it to Sir Robert Walpole, who only accepted it on condition that it should be attached to the First Lord of the Treasury for ever, a condition which has ever since been observed.

During the whole time that I was in the old Foreign Office, from 1840 till 1861 (before its temporary removal to Whitehall Gardens), and, no doubt, during the whole time that my father was there for many years previously, a sentinel was always placed at the public entrance door in Downing Street, and another at the foot of the steps leading from Fludyer Street to St. James's Park (see sketch, facing p. 32); whilst a third was placed at the end of Downing Street, at the entrance to the Colonial Office. They had evidently a very hazy notion of the important duties which they might be called upon to perform, for on more than one occasion I have heard strangers inquire of them which was the Foreign Office, and have heard them reply that they believed it was one of the offices about there, but they did not know which. Raikes, in his diary, relates a good story about a sentinel in Downing Street, which, although repeated by Cassell,¹ may, I think, be also recorded

¹ Vol. iii. p. 389.

here. He says, "In the early Reform Riots, a mob ran violently into Downing Street, and rushing up to the sentinel at the door of the Foreign Office, cried out, 'Liberty or death!' upon which the old soldier presented his musket and said, 'Hands off, you fellows! I know nothing about liberty, but if you come a step further I'll show you what death is.'"

A sentinel was also placed at the main entrance to the office when it was temporarily moved to Whitehall Gardens, from August, 1861, till July, 1868, and I remember that one day, when the relieving guard went its rounds, it was discovered that this sentinel had fled, leaving his coat, bearskin cap, and rifle in the sentry-box, but he was soon found and severely punished. On the return of the office to the new buildings in Downing Street sentinels were again placed at the entrance, as formerly, and the practice was continued until December, 1891, when they were, to the regret of many old officials, removed from all the public offices in the immediate neighbourhood of Whitehall, except the War Office in Pall Mall and the Horse Guards Gate.

Fludyer Street was formerly situated to the south of Downing Street, and extended from King Street to St. James's Park. It was built about 1766, and was called Fludyer Street after Sir Samuel Fludyer, Bart. (Lord Mayor of London in 1761), the ground landlord. It was a very narrow street, not exceeding a few feet in width at the widest part near King Street, and so narrow near the park end that a person living on one side of the street could easily converse

with his or her neighbours opposite. There was a stone slab let into the wall of the house at the end near King Street, with the name Fludyer Street on it, with the date 1766. I well remember seeing this stone, and a drawing of the street showing the stone upon it exists in the British Museum.

Between December, 1793, and the beginning of 1807, all official letters emanating from the Foreign Office were dated from "Downing Street"; but on April 4, 1807, two letters were addressed to the Admiralty, one of which was dated from "Downing Street" and the other from the "Foreign Office." The same thing occurred in the case of letters written on August 19 following. For some months later "Downing Street" was occasionally used as the address, but before the end of the year 1807 the new address "Foreign Office" appears to have been definitely adopted, and since that time the rule has been to use the latter address on all official letters emanating from the Foreign Office.

On one occasion, when Earl Granville was Foreign Secretary, his lordship addressed an official despatch to one of Her Majesty's Ministers abroad, dated from Walmer Castle, and giving an account of an interview with a foreign representative who had come to see him there, he being then Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and resident at the Castle.¹ It was found on examination that this was unusual, and that when a Secretary of State went abroad, it was the practice to send a circular letter to all the foreign ambassadors and ministers in London, requesting them to address

¹ December 7, 1881. *State Papers*, vol. lxxiii. p. 1049.

their communications to the Foreign Office, notwithstanding the temporary absence of the Secretary of State, and informing them that replies to their letters would be sent to them from that office as usual. The only precedent in point was that when the Earl of Clarendon went to Wiesbaden for his health, in September, 1869, he dated a despatch to H.M.'s ambassador at St. Petersburg (reporting an important conversation which he had had with Prince Gortschakoff on the affairs of Central Asia), from Wiesbaden.¹

On it being pointed out to Lord Granville that it was not usual to date Foreign Office despatches from any other place, his lordship issued a minute, in which he gave directions that in future all such despatches should be dated from the Foreign Office only.

¹ *State Papers*, vol. lxiii. p. 668.

CHAPTER IV

SECRETARIES OF STATE

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON was the first of the Secretaries of State under whom I served. He was Foreign Secretary on three different occasions—from November 22, 1830, till November 15, 1834 (in the Ministry of Earl Grey, and later of Viscount Melbourne); from April 18, 1835, till September 2, 1841 (in the Ministry of Viscount Melbourne); and from July 6, 1846, till December 26, 1851 (in the Ministry of Lord John, afterwards Earl, Russell).

Among the many important questions which Lord Palmerston had to deal with during his *first* term of office, between 1830 and 1834, were:—the independence, sovereignty, and boundaries of Greece, which were settled by the treaty of May 7, 1832; the separation of Belgium from Holland, which was partially brought about by the treaty of November 15, 1831 (although not finally settled until April 19, 1839); the Russian proceedings in Poland; and the pacification of Spain and Portugal, which was settled by the treaty of April 22, 1834.

The protocols which he signed with the representatives of other Powers on the affairs of Belgium alone were so numerous (seventy-eight in number) that he was nicknamed by officials "Protocol Palmerston."

Among the important questions which engaged his lordship's attention during his *second* tenure of office, between 1835 and 1841, were:—the final settlement of the question of the separation of Belgium and Holland, including the position of Luxemburg, by the treaty of April 19, 1839; the pacification of the Levant, and the Pachalic of Egypt, which were settled by the Convention between the four Powers and Turkey of July 15, 1840 (to which France declined to be a signatory party); and the convention between the five Powers (including France) and Turkey of July 13, 1841, respecting the passage of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

During the sitting of the Belgian and Greek Conferences in London, which lasted from 1831 till 1839, many of the clerks in the office were always in attendance on Sundays, as was also either the librarian or the sub-librarian.

A story is told that one Sunday morning, during church-time, Lord Palmerston entered one of the rooms of the office, accompanied by Lady Palmerston, and not finding the head of the department at his post, he inquired of one of the juniors where he was, and on being told that he was at church, his lordship expressed much surprise at his not being at his desk, and was beginning to wax rather warm on the subject when he was stopped by Lady Palmerston's remarking, "But, you see, my dear, some people go to church on Sundays." Lord Palmerston evidently felt that this was an awkward remark for her to make under the circumstances; but he said no more, and quietly left the room.

The refusal of France to become a party to the Convention of July 15, 1840, which contained the conditions of an arrangement which the four Powers had agreed to submit to Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt (who had been driven out of Syria), and which they were prepared to compel him to accept,¹ led to the relations between this country and France being considerably strained, as is shown by a despatch which was addressed by Lord Palmerston to H.M.'s Ambassador in Paris. A vote had been proposed in the French Chamber for the increase of the French Navy, and the attention of Lord Palmerston having been called to it, he wrote a despatch to the British Ambassador in Paris (August 4, 1840), in which he said :—

“The British Fleet in the Mediterranean will be quite strong enough to do everything which it can be required to do in pursuance of the engagements of the Treaty of the 15th of July. The force of that Fleet will also be abundantly sufficient to secure it against molestation or insult from any squadron which the French may think proper to send to the Levant, and if any proceeding of the French Squadron should bring on a Collision—which H.M.'s Government trust the French Government will have the prudence and wisdom to avoid—H.M.'s Government have no fear as to the result ; but it must certainly strike every impartial observer that if France means to preserve Peace, this armament, which is only a display of irritation, cannot tend to inspire the mutual cordiality which belongs to peace ; and that, on the other hand, if the French Government mean to go to War, this armament affords an inadequate measure of the resources with

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 28, p. 342.

which they are prepared for entering upon the contest. H.M.'s Government, however, entertain the most confident hope and belief that the French Government mean to preserve peace, notwithstanding these hostile demonstrations; but if it were otherwise, it is always in the power of the Crown to assemble Parliament in a fortnight, in order to ask from it the means which may be necessary, in any case, for protecting the interests and upholding the honour of the Country."

The above despatch was laid before Parliament with other correspondence relative to the "Affairs of the Levant,"¹ and it struck my youthful official mind as being couched in somewhat strong language; but it had its effect, as France did not go to war to enforce her views.

The most important questions with which Lord Palmerston had to deal during his *third* tenure of office, between 1846 and 1851, were:—the annexation of Cracow by Austria, against which a British protest was issued (November 23, 1846); the pacification of Portugal, which country had again become disturbed, but the settlement of which was effected by the protocol of May 21, 1847; and the dispute between Prussia and Denmark, which included the question of succession to the throne, and the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, which latter question was settled by the protocol of July 4, 1850.

But besides these, there were boundary questions in Italy, the differences with Spain which led to the suspension of diplomatic relations in 1848, and numerous other affairs of less importance.

¹ Octavo edition, vol. ii. p. 58.

On quitting the Foreign Office, in November, 1834, Lord Palmerston requested the Under Secretary of State to explain how much he regretted that he had been prevented from having any personal communication with the clerks before he quitted it, and continued :—

“I regret this circumstance, for I should have wished to have thanked them for the able assistance which they have afforded me in the performance of the important duties with which I have been charged, and to have expressed my sense of the indefatigable zeal and unwearied cheerfulness with which they have, during the last four years, gone through the unusual labour and submitted to the excessive confinement arising out of the extraordinary pressure of public business. Pray be kind enough to help me to repair this involuntary omission, by conveying to the gentlemen of the Foreign Office this expression of my acknowledgment and thanks.

“PALMERSTON.”

Again, on quitting office in December, 1851, he wrote to the chief clerk as follows :—

“I can assure you that I feel great regret at finding myself separated from my fellow-labourers in the Foreign Office, to whose assistance I have been so much indebted for the success which has attended our united exertions ; and whose ability, intelligence, industry, and zeal have made the Foreign Office a model Department.

“PALMERSTON.”

I will here add a few incidents which occurred during Lord Palmerston's period of office, although they may not all have a direct personal association with him.

The year 1848 was a very eventful one, especially for the Foreign Office. The whole of the continent of Europe was in a state of revolutionary excitement. A revolution broke out in Paris, which drove King Louis Philippe from his throne, and led to the proclamation of a French Republic; whilst insurrectionary movements also took place at Berlin, Vienna, Rome, and elsewhere, which led to the abdication of King Frederic William IV. of Prussia, of the Emperor Ferdinand I. of Austria, and the flight of Pope Pius VII. in disguise from Rome to Gaeta.

At home we had our own little excitement in the shape of a threatened Chartist riot; and, as if that was not sufficient to occupy the time and attention of the Foreign Office, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the miscellaneous expenditure. Mr. Hammond, Mr. Lenox-Conyngham (then Chief Clerk), Mr. Lewis Hertslet (my father), who was then Librarian, etc., and other Foreign Office officials, gave evidence before this Committee, which inquiry led to the publication of a very ponderous Blue Book.

The expulsion of Mr. Bulwer (afterwards Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, and later Lord Dalling) from Madrid caused great excitement at the time. In May, 1848, he was ordered by the Spanish Government to quit Madrid within forty-eight hours, on the alleged ground of his improper interference in the internal affairs of Spain. He accordingly left that capital. The Spanish Minister in London, M. Isturitz, was, in consequence, informed that he could not any longer be allowed to

continue at the Court of St. James as Minister from the Queen of Spain, and he accordingly left London.¹ Diplomatic relations were suspended between the two countries from June, 1848, till April, 1850, when they were renewed.

The Spanish Government has always been very tenacious about the interference of foreign Governments in their domestic affairs; and it will no doubt be remembered by many how sharply it resented the conduct pursued by the allied Sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, at Verona, in 1823.

In January of that year, notes were addressed to the Spanish Government by the *Chargés d’Affaires* of those three countries, in which they each, officially, announced the views of their respective Sovereigns assembled at Verona, which were that, owing to the disordered state of the country, they were unable to remain any longer to represent their countries at the Court of Madrid; they at the same time demanded their passports.

To the Austrian *Chargé d’Affaires’* note, the Spanish Foreign Minister replied as follows:—

“I have received the note which you were pleased to address to me yesterday, and confining myself, for the present, to informing you that it is a matter of indifference to His Catholic Majesty’s Government whether it maintains, or not, relations with that of Vienna, I forward, by Royal order, the passports which you demand.”

But to the Russian *Chargé d’Affaires’* note, a

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 38, p. 928.

much sharper answer was returned. The Spanish Minister said :—

“I have received the very insolent note which you addressed to me yesterday, and confining my answer to informing you that you have scandalously abused—perhaps through ignorance—the Law of Nations, which must always be respectable in the eyes of the Spanish Government, I transmit to you, by His Majesty’s order, the passports which you have demanded, and hope you will be pleased to leave this capital in as short a time as possible.”¹

Well do I remember the great Chartist meeting, which was held on April 10, 1848, although fifty-three years have passed since that day. The so-called “National Convention,” led by Feargus O’Connor and others, proposed to hold a mass meeting of 200,000 men on Kennington Common (since inclosed), and to march thence in procession to Westminster, for the purpose of presenting a petition to the House of Commons, and, as a riot was expected, every precaution was taken to suppress it. The Bank of England and other places were guarded by the military, and 150,000 persons of all ranks of society, including Prince Louis Napoleon, afterwards Emperor of the French, were voluntarily sworn in as special constables. I attended, with five of my colleagues in the office at the police court, Westminster, and on being sworn, a policeman’s truncheon was presented to each of us, with a warrant authorising us to act as special constables for three months. The following is a copy of the warrant which was given to me :—

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 10, pp. 927, 929.

"WESTMINSTER POLICE COURT.

"TO MR. EDWARD HERTSLET, Foreign Office in the Parish of Saint Margarets, Westminster, in the County of Middlesex.

"WHEREAS it has been made to appear unto ME, JOHN PALFREY BURRELL, Esquire, one of the Magistrates of the Police Courts of the Metropolis sitting at the Westminster Court within the Metro-

"Metropolitan Police District and City and Liberty of Westminster to wit. politan Police District, and usually acting for the said District, upon the Oath of Henry Hatchard Sugg, a credible Witness, that Tumults and

Riots have lately taken place in the City and Liberty of Westminster, within the said District, and may reasonably be apprehended to take place again. And I, the said Magistrate being of opinion that the Ordinary Officers appointed for preserving the Peace in the said City and Liberty are not sufficient for the preservation of the Peace and for the protection of the Inhabitants and security of the Property in the said City and Liberty, do hereby, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the First and Second Years of the Reign of his late Majesty William the Fourth, intituled 'An Act for amending the Laws relative to the Appointment of Special Constables, and for the preservation of the Peace,' nominate and appoint you the said EDWARD HERTSLET as and to act as a Special Constable for the Preservation of the Public Peace, and for the Protection of the Inhabitants, and Security of the Property within the said City and Liberty. Such appointment to continue in force during the period of Three Months from the date hereof.

"GIVEN under my Hand at the Westminster Police Court aforesaid, this sixth Day of April One thousand Eight hundred and Forty-eight.

"J. P. BURRELL."

Many will no doubt remember the cartoon which appeared in *Punch* at that time, where a "special" was represented addressing a rioter thus :—

"Now look here, if you kill me it's murder ; but if I kill you it's nothing."

As it was feared that an attack might be made on the Foreign Office, the windows of the MS. Library, on the ground floor, facing Downing Street, were filled with books, loopholes being left to pass muskets through, should they really be required ; but there never was a greater farce. A few muskets of the old Brown-bess pattern were fetched from the Tower of London—it should be remembered that there were no rifles in those days—and sent into the office, but, so far as I could ascertain, without ammunition ; and there was not a soul in the office who had ever handled one of these clumsy weapons before, or knew how to fire it off, as it was long before the commencement of the volunteer movement. A few navy cutlasses were also supplied by H.M.'s Government, but they looked, for all the world, as if they had been borrowed from Astley's theatre. There had been no previous attempt at drilling, nor was anyone instructed what to do in the event of the rioters making their appearance, probably owing, in a great measure, to the jealousy which existed among the officials in the Government offices in the immediate neighbourhood of Whitehall. At the Foreign Office the dispute between the permanent Under Secretary of State and the Chief Clerk waxed so warm that the latter was reported to have said to the former that if he meddled in matters

which did not belong to his province in the office, but were solely within that of the Chief Clerk, he would shoot him !

A similar squabble, I was told, was going on between the Treasury officials and those of the Board of Trade—the office of which was then at Whitehall. Orders were given for the Treasury men to defend the Board of Trade windows, but the Board of Trade officials considered that they were perfectly competent to perform this duty themselves, and they consequently declared that, if the Treasury men attempted to carry into effect those orders, they would be resisted by force. What would have happened, therefore, if the rioters had only had the officials to deal with, and a serious attack had been made on the public offices in Downing Street and Whitehall, it is impossible to say ; but I was afterwards told that ample arrangements had been made by the Government for the suppression of the riot, and that, had the mob shown in force in that neighbourhood, the troops, which were kept concealed on the parade in St. James's Park, would have entered the public offices from the rear and defended them. The afternoon turned out wet, and instead of the 200,000 who were to be mustered on Kennington Common, only between 15,000 and 20,000 appeared, and it was said that Feargus O'Connor and his friends had been informed quietly by the police that, in the event of their exciting the mob to acts of violence, their instructions were to shoot down the ringleaders, which information, true or false, had a magic effect, as the rioters were implored by their leaders to disperse, which they quickly did, when

the rain began to fall heavily. Thus ended the threatened English revolution of 1848.

On February 24, 1848, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, but his nomination was not accepted, and the Royal Family fled from Paris to avoid the fury of the French mob. The King having assumed the name of "Mr. Smith," succeeded in escaping to England.

Claremont was placed by Her Majesty Queen Victoria at the disposal of the ex-King and his Queen, and I well remember, on one occasion, seeing his late Majesty enjoying the calmness and solitude of this peaceful retreat. It was on a Sunday afternoon; a friend of my father, Dr. Neville of Esher, had the privilege of possessing a key to a private gate which led into the park, and this key he was permitted to lend at times to his friends. He had lent it on that Sunday afternoon to my father, who, with my uncle Charles and myself, took a walk in the Claremont grounds, and knowing that the ex-King was then residing there, we were careful not to approach too near the house, lest we should intrude upon royalty, but kept to the secluded paths, where we thought we should be able to enjoy our walk unobserved; but it so happened that it was just this part of the park which had attracted the attention of the ex-King, and on turning a corner we found ourselves close to a seat upon which His Majesty was seated between two aides-de-camp. We immediately drew back, and were about to retreat to another part of the park when His Majesty rose, as did the two aides-

de-camp, and all politely bowing and taking off their hats, one of the aides-de-camp exclaimed, "Pray come forward, pray come forward," and as it was impossible to retreat under those circumstances, we advanced, and taking off our hats and bowing lowly, we passed by His Majesty. After we had gone by some little distance, we replaced our hats on our heads, and venturing to look back to see if we were well out of sight, we saw, to our astonishment, His Majesty still standing with his hat off and holding it in his hand. We immediately removed our hats again and kept them off until we were quite sure we were out of sight. It was really a sad sight to see this old man, who had done so much for France, now taking refuge from his own people in old England. He died at Claremont, August 26, 1850, and was buried at the Roman Catholic chapel at Weybridge, Surrey; but, in 1876, his remains were removed to France.

During the sitting of Parliament in 1850, the late Mr. Roebuck made a formal attack in the House of Commons against Lord Palmerston's foreign policy. The motion was divided into no less than forty headings, which occupied five pages of the "Votes." The period over which the attack extended was from 1827 to 1847, although the policy attacked had over and over again formed the subject of debates in Parliament. To provide material for a complete answer to the various charges made in this "monster motion," the Librarian and his staff were sorely taxed, as the information sought for was contained in between 2,000 and 3,000 MS. volumes.

The debate lasted for four nights, and Lord Palmerston ended his successful speech with the following words :—

" I therefore fearlessly challenge the verdict which this House, as representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, is to give on the question now brought before it ; whether the principles on which the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow-subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England ; and whether, as the Roman, in days of old, held himself free from indignity, when he could say *Civis Romanus sum*, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong."¹

It is a well-known fact that Lord Palmerston was, at one time, hated abroad on account of the firm and determined manner in which he upheld British interests and demanded redress on every occasion on which a British subject had suffered insult or injury at the hands of officials in foreign countries ; but his administration of foreign affairs did not always meet with the approval of public opinion even in this country.

It is said that on one occasion a case of table-knives was stopped at an Austrian custom-house because the name of the manufacturers, Palmer and Son, stamped on the blades, was mistaken by the officials for "Palmerston," and they thought

¹ Hansard, 25 June, 1850, vol. 112, p. 444.

that the knives were about to be imported for the purpose of carrying out some foul and wicked conspiracy to overturn the Austrian Empire!

On another occasion an English traveller, on crossing the Austrian frontier and producing his Foreign Office passport signed by Lord Palmerston, had it struck out of his hand by the Austrian custom-house official, who at the same time exclaimed, "C'est un nom détestable."

But it is not surprising that the Austrian Government was at times enraged against this country. For instance:—

A gross insult was offered to the Austrian General Haynau in 1850, when Lord Palmerston was Foreign Minister, and his lordship's refusal to investigate the matter, or to punish the offenders unless they were prosecuted in the usual manner, naturally added fuel to the flame which already existed.

I may, I hope, be excused for repeating here the following account taken from the *Annual Register* of what occurred on that memorable occasion.

"A disgraceful attack was made on this distinguished officer—General Haynau—the most successful of the Austrian commanders in the Hungarian War, evoked by the reputation he had obtained among the English populace for great cruelty, more especially for the flogging of women. Shortly before twelve o'clock—on September 4, 1850—three foreigners, one of whom wore long moustachios, presented themselves at the brewery of Messrs. Barclay and Co. for the purpose of inspecting the establishment. According to the regular practice of visitors, they were requested

to sign their names in a book in the office, after which they crossed the yard with one of the clerks. On inspecting the visitors' book the clerks discovered that one of the visitors was no other than General Haynau. It became known all over the brewery in less than two minutes, and before the General and his companions had crossed the yard nearly all the labourers and draymen were out with brooms and dirt, shouting out, 'Down with the Austrian butcher!' and other epithets of rather an alarming nature to the General. He was soon covered with dirt, and perceiving some of the men about to attack him he ran into the street to Bankside, followed by a large mob, consisting of the brewers' men, coal-heavers, and others, armed with all sorts of weapons, with which they belaboured the General. He ran, in a frantic manner, along Bankside until he came to the 'George' public-house, when, forcing the doors open, he rushed in and proceeded upstairs into one of the bedrooms, to the utter astonishment of the landlady. The furious mob rushed in upon him, threatening to 'do' for the 'Austrian butcher,' but, fortunately for him, the house is very old-fashioned, and contained a vast number of doors, which were all forced open, except that of the room in which the General was concealed. The mob had increased at that time to several hundreds, but a messenger being despatched for the assistance of the police, a party of this force speedily appeared, but with great difficulty dispersed the mob, and got the General out of the house. A police galley was at the wharf at the time, into which he was taken and rowed towards Somerset House, amidst the shouts and execrations of the mob.

"The General immediately left this country, and no steps were taken to punish the perpetrators of this cowardly onslaught.

"The indignity thus offered to their most distinguished General, and the apparent unwillingness of the British Government to take any measures to discover the offenders, excited a strong feeling in Austria and throughout Germany."

The General—or rather Marshal—Haynau, on his return to Vienna, declined to make any personal complaint against the treatment which he had received.

The Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs—Prince Schwartzburg—however, informed the British Ambassador at Vienna that he was glad to see that most of the London newspapers, even those which habitually were opposed to Austrian policy, had united in stigmatising this disgraceful breach of English hospitality in the person of an Austrian subject of a very high position. An official demand was then made that an investigation should take place into the circumstances of the assault committed on the Marshal; but Messrs. Barclay and Perkins had already instituted an inquiry, which failed to lead to the discovery of the instigators of the outrage or even of the principal actors in it, and under those circumstances the Home Office considered that it would be most inexpedient for the Crown to institute criminal proceedings in a case of that nature without any reasonable expectation of success; and so the matter dropped.¹

Lord Palmerston's "Minutes" were frequently very amusing, and when intended to convey a rebuke or censure they were written in a satirical rather

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 42, p. 388.

than in a severe tone. His own handwriting was very clear and legible, but he generally spelt the names of persons and things, and frequently even adjectives and pronouns, with a capital letter (see facsimile of minute facing page 78), which peculiarity is looked upon in these days as a grievous error.

A subordinate official at one of H.M.'s Legations in South America once wrote a despatch containing certain suggestions which his lordship entirely disapproved of; and he simply wrote on the docket of the despatch, "Goose, Goose, Goose," and it was then "put by."

On another occasion he gave the following instruction as to an answer which was to be returned to a letter, which had been addressed to him, containing a request with which he was unable or unwilling to comply: "Civil answer—meaning nothing," and the head of the department had to frame an answer accordingly for his lordship's approval. To every minute he wrote he attached his initial, "P," with the date added in figures.

He was very particular about Handwriting. He considered it to be of the utmost importance that those who wrote despatches or letters which were to be preserved for all time should take care to write them well, and on several occasions he sent circulars to ministers and consuls abroad, desiring them to write large, round, legible hands, and to use black ink. This was carried to such an extent that a despatch which his lordship received from Mr. Plowden, Consul at Massowah, was ordered to be returned to him to be written over again in blacker ink—a difficult order, perhaps, for the consul to

carry out, in those days at any rate, in such an unapproachable part of the world ; but I remember seeing another minute from his lordship in which he inquired, "Where exactly is Massowah?" so that the difficulty was, perhaps, not quite apparent when the order was given.

The following are a few of Lord Palmerston's official minutes on the subject of Ink and Handwriting, but given in the ordinary type. His practice was to sit up working late at night, and it was painful to him to have to read bad handwriting, and, even when a middle-aged man, he had the greatest objection to having placed before him letters written in a small hand. His invariable rule was to write on such letters "Readable Copy," and a copy of the letter had then to be made in the approved style by one of the clerks in the office.

A clerk once—more, perhaps, by way of joke than from a particular desire to please his lordship—copied out a memorandum for his use in an unusually large handwriting ; upon which his lordship wrote the following minute—whether by way of returning the joke or not was never known :—

"The Writer of this Paper would write an excellent hand if he wrote a little larger."

On a very badly written despatch he wrote :—

"Tell Mr. W——, in a 'Separate,' that the person who copies out his despatches should form his letters by connecting his slanting down strokes by visible lines at top or bottom according to the letters which he intends his parallel lines to represent.

"P. 18/4/51."

The greater Portion
of the Foreign Office
Hands are Excellent
and admired by all
but there are some
few on the Establishment
men who might
improve their Hand
writing if they would
take more Pains
to form their letters
distinctly

P 20/11-48

On another badly written despatch from one of H.M.'s consuls he wrote :—

"A Despatch must contain much valuable matter to reward one for deciphering such handwriting as this—which can only be compared to Iron Railings leaning out of the perpendicular. " P. 23/12/57."

On another despatch he wrote :—

"Reading Mr. R——'s handwriting is like running Penknives into one's Eyes. " P. 21/4/64."

On one occasion, on receiving a batch of badly written despatches from certain of H.M.'s consuls, Lord Palmerston wrote the following minute :—

"These Consuls are too bad ; there is hardly one of them that writes a decent hand and with readable Ink. Write to each of the offenders that if they do not write larger and more legibly, and with black Ink, I shall be obliged to send all their despatches back to them to be written over again ; and if they do not pay more attention to their Instructions, other persons will be found who will do so. This is not to be a Circular, but special to those who deserve it. Life is not long enough to decipher their scribbling.

" P. 29/1/51."

He had also the greatest objection to persons writing what is known as a back-hand, and on one occasion when a letter was sent up to him for his signature written in that style, he returned it with the following minute :—

"Has the Writer of this Letter lost the use of his right hand? If not, why does he make all his letters slope backwards like the raking masts of an American schooner?"

A semi-official letter was once received by the Superintendent of the Consular Department from one of H.M.'s consuls in South America, of which the following is an extract :—

“ . . . What I have undergone for the last twelve months in the house I lately occupied is beyond all imagination. What with fleas and other vermin, it was absolutely insufferable.”

Upon this letter being sent up to Lord Palmerston for his perusal, his lordship wrote upon it :—

“ Living with his Fleas can hardly be worse than reading his handwriting, which I cannot do. Let me have an abstract of what it is about.

“ P. 24/4/32.”

On the question of Ink, here is another minute which he wrote on the subject :—

“ Why is such Pale Ink used in the Office? It is very important that Ink should be used which will last. I apprehend that those who write, put water into their Ink when it gets thick ; but instead of doing this, they should throw the thick Ink away and tap a fresh bottle.

“ P. 18/2/37.”

On a despatch written by Mr. Bulwer (afterwards Sir Henry, and later Lord Dalling) from Madrid, in March, 1847, Lord Palmerston wrote the following minute :—

“ Request Mr. Bulwer to cause his Inclosures to be written with the same Ink which is used for his Despatches.

“ The Inclosures are written with a Steel Pen and fluid Ink, which is no doubt pleasant for the writer, but far otherwise to the reader, and they will

moreover soon disappear like the Proclamations of General Breton."

And on another despatch from Mr. Bulwer he wrote :—

"Send this Despatch back to Mr. Bulwer, to be written over again in better Ink, and ask him where he got the Ink in which it is written.

" P. 11/3/47."

But next in importance to handwriting and ink in his lordship's eyes was Punctuation. He had a great objection to persons "sowing Commas," but still more did he dislike despatches written out for signature in true lawyer style, without any stops whatever. He once wrote the following minute on a batch of letters being sent up to him for signature without being properly stopped :—

"Write to the Stationery Office for a sufficient supply of Full Stops, Semi-colons, and Commas; but more especially Semi-colons, for the use of the copying clerks of the office; I furnish these things out of my own private stores when I have time to look over despatches for signature, but I am not always sufficiently at leisure to supply deficiencies.

" P. 1/6/51."

On the importance of writing despatches in proper language, he once wrote the following minute on a badly worded draft of a despatch sent up for his approval :—

"The construction of sentences is stiff, strained, and roundabout; words are used in meanings which they are not accustomed to bear, and relatives and

antecedents are so mixed as to leave the meaning of sentences often obscure. Sentences should be constructed to begin with the nominative, to go on with the verb, and to end with the accusative, and the mind of the person who reads should follow the sentence without effort. Life is not long enough to correct them and put them into plain English, planting Sugar Canes would not be more laborious.

“P. 2/12/36.”

He also commented thus on a despatch received from one of H.M.'s *chargés d'affaires* :—

“Mr. B—— W—— seems to think that Secretaries of State have nothing else to do but to read his despatches, admire his long sentences, his multitude of words, and his never-ending remarks. It is highly desirable that he should be more pithy and concise.”

He had also a strong objection to the use of Pins for the purpose of fastening papers together, and having on one occasion—when Home Secretary, I believe—been pricked somewhat sharply with a pin when unfolding a paper, he wrote the following minute :—

“I desire that all the Pins in this Office be immediately made over to the Female Branch of the Establishment.”

As an instance of Lord Palmerston's jocular disposition, I remember being told the following anecdote :—

A gentleman of the name of Smallwood applied to his lordship for the post of Queen's Foreign

Service Messenger; but there happened to be in the corps at that time a Queen's Messenger of the name of Littlewood, and it is said that Lord Palmerston declined to accede to Mr. Smallwood's request on the ground that it would be too absurd to allow a gentleman of the name of Smallwood and another of the name of Littlewood to be seen driving in a curricule together.

I cannot vouch for the truth of this story, but I knew both of these gentlemen personally.

There was one class of our countrymen who had a great grievance against the treatment which they had received at the hands of certain foreign Governments—more especially those of Central and South America—and these were those who had invested their money in foreign bonds. These complainants were very numerous and incessant, and they gave Lord Palmerston an immense amount of trouble, as they have done others who have succeeded him at the Foreign Office. But Lord Palmerston, whilst doing his best to assist them, informed them, one and all, that those who invested their money in the bonds of other countries in order that they might obtain a high rate of interest for it, knew perfectly well that they were running a great risk of losing their capital, and had no claim to the assistance of H.M.'s Government on their behalf. Still, he was always ready, as his successors have also been, to give them his best support where it could be shown that they had been treated with manifest injustice, as will be seen from the following minute. On an occasion when a foreign Government had not kept faith with the British claimants, he gave

instructions for the following despatch to be sent to H.M.'s Chargé d'Affaires :—

“Mr. W—— to state, in a short Note to the —— Government, that the patience and forbearance of H.M.'s Government in regard to these matters have reached their limits, and that if the sums due to the British —— Claimants are not paid within the stipulated time and in money, H.M.'s Admiral commanding on the West India Station will receive orders to take such measures as may be necessary to obtain Justice from the —— nation in this matter. “P. 18/4/51.”

I knew one of these claimants personally. He was fairly well off, and had invested a considerable sum of money in the bonds of one of the South American republics, which turned out to be almost worthless. This induced him at last to publish a small pamphlet, in which he set forth his grievances, and in sending a copy of it to the Foreign Secretary he made an earnest appeal to him that he would make an official complaint against the manner in which that Government had treated its foreign creditors.

On the title page of this pamphlet appeared the following scriptural quotation: “I would to G—, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, *except these Bonds.*”

I am afraid the joke was never fully appreciated in the office, as I never once heard it alluded to; but it struck me, on perusing the pamphlet at the time, as being a “happy thought,” although a sad perversion of Scripture.

Lord Palmerston used to work up to a late hour at night, and frequently into the early morning ; but there are not many who could do this for any length of time with impunity, should they be tempted, which was never Lord Palmerston's case, to take a "nip" or two whilst writing, or rather composing, the drafts of their letters and despatches.

I knew a case many years ago in which one of the clerks in the office made a sad slip, when composing a letter to a lady respecting her husband's imprisonment abroad, which would have got the office into sad discredit had not the error been detected by the Under Secretary of State, to whom the draft letter was submitted for approval.

Several British subjects had been imprisoned during a civil war in one of the South American republics, and the wife of one of them wrote repeatedly to the Secretary of State imploring him to do all in his power to obtain the release of her husband, and everything possible was done by H.M.'s Government to obtain his release, as well as that of all the other prisoners. After a considerable length of time a despatch arrived from H.M.'s representative at the place where the incident occurred, reporting that all the prisoners had been set at liberty, with the exception of the one respecting whom the lady in question had so frequently and so imploringly written to the Secretary of State. Upon receipt of this despatch, one of the clerks was instructed to prepare drafts of letters informing the relatives of each of the released prisoners of its contents. He did so late at night, and drafted a letter to this un-

happy lady, to be signed by the Under Secretary, informing her that the Secretary of State had great pleasure in announcing that all the prisoners had been released, with the exception of her husband! Fortunately the error was at once detected by the sharp-eyed Under Secretary, and the letter which was actually sent to the lady was couched in very different language. The clerk who had committed so gross an error, after dinner, was never given an opportunity of making another such blunder. The lady's husband was eventually released.

Lord Palmerston died at Brockett Hall, Herts, on October 18, 1865, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. A brief account of his official, parliamentary, and other services will be found recorded in the *Foreign Office List*.¹

The Duke of Wellington was Foreign Secretary in Sir Robert Peel's Ministry from November 15, 1834, till April 18, 1835, and he died at Walmer Castle on September 14, 1852. His body was laid in state at Chelsea Hospital from November 12 to 17, and he was buried at St. Paul's Cathedral on the eighteenth of that month. I was at that time temporarily attached to the Lord Chamberlain's Office for a few days merely to assist in the funeral arrangements, and I sat by the coffin for each of the days that the body was lying in state. Three mourners sat on each side of the coffin, two being officers of the household troops, and the third an officer of the Lord Chamberlain's Office (or his representative, of whom I was then one).

¹ Edition 1866, p. 177.

An officer of the Brigade of Foot Guards sat at the head of the coffin as chief mourner. At the foot of it was a display of the late Duke's orders and bâtons. Each mourner sat on a black velvet stool, with his feet resting on a strip of gold silk carpet. Behind each seat stood a Warder of the Tower, or "Beef-eater," and between each seat was a huge candelabra, with several branches, all having the appearance of being made of solid silver, but, I was told, they were made of wood silvered over. The large candles in the branches were also made of wood, with the exception of the upper portions, which were of solid wax, and as huge drops came down occasionally with a thud as they melted, it was very unpleasant when they fell upon one's uniform. From the ceiling, over the bier, was hung a canopy of black velvet lined with delicate silver tissue, and on one occasion a serious accident very nearly happened. The crowds of people who went through the room in which the coffin was placed were very great, and one afternoon, as I was seated beside the coffin, I saw a "thief" slide down one of the candles, and in the course of a short time set fire to the wood. I whispered to the "Beef-eater" behind me to go out quietly and call attention to it, but he replied that he did not dare to leave his post. Seeing someone moving on the opposite side I coughed, and managed to engage his attention, and looking up he saw that the wood-work was alight. He therefore hastened out, and returned with a wet table-napkin, but as the candle was a little too high for him to reach, he seized hold of the huge candelabra itself, which had the effect

of making it, together with its array of many candles, sway towards him, and it would certainly have set light to the silver-tissued canopy above had not the chief mourner jumped up from his seat and steadied it, while the lighted wood was extinguished. It was an affair of a moment, and fortunately no one in the crowded room observed it, but when my "relief" came, the officer acting as chief mourner came up to me and inquired if I was in charge from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, and on my replying that I was he said, "Then I may tell you that it is my intention to inform the Lord Chamberlain that we have had a most merciful escape from having the whole building destroyed by fire"; to which I replied that the Lord Chamberlain's Department had no concern whatever with such details of the funeral arrangements, as they were solely under the management of the undertaker. However, the officer no doubt, very properly, reported what he had witnessed, for the next day a brass wire was attached to each candelabra so as to steady them all together.

One day some of my friends in the Foreign Office, who were unaware that I had taken a fortnight's leave of absence for the purpose of assisting in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, were much astonished at seeing me seated as a mourner at the side of the coffin; they stared at me, but of course I did not recognise them; neither did I recognise a cousin who tried in vain to catch my eye, as she passed close beside me; but I found it very difficult to wear a wooden face. On the fourth day, just before the lying in state was ended,

Captain —— of the police came up to me and reported that he had heard that, when the ceremony was over, an attack would not improbably be made on the building, as questions of perquisites had arisen on previous occasions, and he told me that he had heard it said that at the lying in state of H.R.H. the Duke of York in 1827 the velvet was actually torn off the coffin by those who claimed their perquisites. On my asking him what had better be done, he replied that it was his duty to carry out such instructions as the Lord Chamberlain's officials might give him. I then inquired who was in charge of the troops, and on his saying Colonel (afterwards Sir John) Steel, we went to him, and he immediately gave orders for all the doors but one in the building to be closed and fastened. He then ordered sentries to be placed in front of each window, so that they could be seen by the crowd outside (which was very dense), with instructions to "call out guard" if anyone attempted to climb over the railings. But, seeing that every precaution was taken, there was no attempt at rioting, and all passed off quietly.

CHAPTER V

SECRETARIES OF STATE

CONTINUED

LORD ABERDEEN, LORD GRANVILLE, LORD MALMESBURY,
LORD RUSSELL, LORD CLARENDON

THE 4th Earl of Aberdeen was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Duke of Wellington's Ministry from June 2, 1828, till November 22, 1830, and again in Sir Robert Peel's Ministry, from September 2, 1841, till July 6, 1846.

Just before his lordship accepted the Seals of the Foreign Office for the *first* time (1828-30), war had broken out between Russia and Turkey, which naturally occupied the serious attention of this country, but it was eventually terminated by the Treaty of Adrianople (September 14, 1829). The long-standing questions in dispute between the Ottoman Porte and the Greeks, and the steps to be taken to secure the pacification of Greece, were also occupying the attention of the guaranteeing Powers—Great Britain, France, and Russia—and among the last of a long series of protocols signed in London¹ was that of February 3, 1830, whereby those three Powers agreed to recognise the independence and sovereignty of Greece. During Lord Aberdeen's *second* tenure of office (1841-6), among other important questions was that of the regulation

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 17, p. 191.

of the Stade Toll, which led to much discussion between the Powers interested in the system and control of the dues levied by the Hanoverian Government. At length, a convention on the subject was concluded between the Elbe-bordering States (April 13, 1844) and between Great Britain and Hanover July 22, 1844).¹

It was during Lord Aberdeen's *second* term of office (in 1843) that the following incident occurred :

On September 26, 1843, a letter was written by a private individual in Mexico to a friend in London, and a copy of it was sent to the Foreign Office. In it occurred the following passage :—

“Our relations with England are becoming daily less and less friendly. The non-fulfilment of some pecuniary contracts has given cause for several bitter communications, and the conduct of the new Chargé d’Affaires is such as to make us believe that England wishes to bring things to a crisis. Among the flags and colours taken by the Mexicans from the Texans, an English flag had, by some accident, been found, and already Mr. Pakenham had, before his departure from here, applied to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, requesting that if an English flag should be found among the trophies, it might be given to him, as it could not, by any possibility, be said to belong to the Mexicans. Mr. Pakenham had received no answer to this application, and nothing more had been heard of the affair until the other day, when the anniversary of the surrender of the Spaniards at Tampico, in the year 1829, was celebrated by a ball, and the great saloon was decorated with the flags and colours above-mentioned. Mr. Doyle, the present Chargé

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 32, pp. 8–20. The Stade Toll was actually redeemed on June 22, 1861, and the Elbe Dues on June 22, 1870.

d’Affaires, heard, before attending the ball, that an English flag was paraded among the rest, but, on inquiry, this was denied. Nevertheless, on his arrival, he found the flag as stated, and immediately applied to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to have this obnoxious flag removed during supper, when it might be done without being observed. This was also refused after an application by the Foreign Minister to the President; consequently all the Englishmen left the ballroom.”

Three days later, the same person wrote :—

“What I feared has taken place. On the 27th, a second national festival was celebrated, and the captured flags, the British among the rest, were again paraded. Mr. Doyle declared, in a note dated twelve o’clock on that day, that the diplomatic relations between the British and Mexican nations had ceased, and communicated the same yesterday, through the Consul, to all British subjects, adding that they now stood merely under the protection of the Consul.”

I remember hearing, at the time that this event occurred, that one of these fêtes was held in a theatre, and that on the Mexican minister refusing to remove the British flag from the military trophies there displayed, the British Chargé d’Affaires went up into the gallery and pulled down the flag with his own hands.

About the same time it was reported that as a British ship of war was passing a Mexican merchantman the Mexican captain hung the British flag over the stern of his ship; but that on a shot being fired from the British ship of war, in reply to this presumed insult, the flag was quickly removed from its position.

Lord Aberdeen, while applauding the zeal with

which Mr. Doyle had maintained the honour of the national standard, said that, even supposing the ground of offence to have been as strong as he (Mr. Doyle) supposed, H.M.'s Government could not admit that it was sufficient to justify, on his part, so extreme a measure as that to which he had had recourse, namely, the suspension of diplomatic relations with the Mexican Government, and that a strong protest would have been sufficient. He accordingly instructed him to resume diplomatic intercourse.

The Mexican Government expressed its willingness to hand over the flag in question to Her Majesty's Government should it, on examination, prove to be English, which offer was willingly accepted by Lord Aberdeen. At the same time the Mexican Government disclaimed any intended insult to the British flag. On examination the flag proved to be English, and it was therefore handed over to the new British Minister (Mr. Bankhead).

Lord Aberdeen was most kind to all old officials, and gave appointments to their sons on several occasions as a reward for their services, I being included among that number. He was stern in his manner, and I remember being told that on one occasion Captain ——, a Queen's Foreign Service Messenger, who had been allowed access to Lord Palmerston's room by simply tapping at his door, having a grievance, went up to Lord Aberdeen's room (his lordship having succeeded Lord Palmerston), and after tapping at his door, and hearing the cry, "Come in!" strode up to his lordship in true military style, and began to address him thus:

"Your lordship is aware——," when he was at once stopped by Lord Aberdeen, who said, "I am aware of nothing, sir! Leave the room!" and the gallant captain at once performed a "right about face" and retired. Lord Aberdeen was Prime Minister from December 28, 1852, till February 20, 1855; and died December 14, 1860.

Viscount Leveson, afterwards 2nd Earl Granville, was Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (under Viscount Palmerston) from March 7, 1840, till September 4, 1841, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Viscount Canning, afterwards Earl Canning, K.G., and Viceroy of India.

I have a vivid and most pleasant recollection of the personal appearances of both these statesmen in their younger days.

Viscount Leveson succeeded to the title as 2nd Earl Granville on January 8, 1846, and was thrice Foreign Secretary—first, from December 26, 1851, till February 27, 1852 (in Earl Russell's Ministry); secondly, from July 6, 1870, till February 21, 1874 (in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's Ministry); and thirdly, from April 28, 1880, till June 24, 1885 (also in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry).

Earl Granville succeeded Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary in December, 1851; but the policy pursued by his lordship did not tend to improve matters in the eyes of certain Foreign Governments.

At the time of Lord Palmerston's retirement an angry correspondence was being carried on between his lordship and the Governments of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia respecting the conduct of certain foreign refugees in London, as complaints

were made by those Governments of the "énorme abus que font du droit d'asile les réfugiés politiques auxquels l'Angleterre accorde généreusement l'hospitalité." On Lord Granville's appointment, the Austrian Ambassador (Count Buol), by direction of his Government, presented two notes to his lordship, bringing before H.M.'s Government the remonstrances which the Modenese and Papal Governments also considered themselves entitled to make, with regard to the abuse by Piedmontese and Roman refugees of the asylum accorded to them in England; but Lord Granville declined to receive these notes, on the ground that he could not admit the right of the Austrian representative to make official communications on behalf of Italian Courts by whom he was not accredited to Her Majesty.¹

Lord Malmesbury, in his *Memoirs*, said that Lord Granville threw the notes after Count Buol as he left his room; but in a letter addressed to Lord Malmesbury and published in the *Times*, at Lord Granville's request, his lordship said: "I was not guilty of any personal discourtesy to Count Buol, a diplomatist of high character. If you refer to the Parliamentary Papers, you will see that I did not throw the notes after him, but returned them in a despatch, giving at length the reasons for doing so." This explanation was accepted by Lord Malmesbury.

On December 29, 1851, a most wanton and unprovoked outrage was committed at Florence by two Austrian officers on a young Englishman named Erskine Mather. He and his brother, aged re-

¹ See *State Papers*, vol. 42, p. 410. See also "*Diary of an Ex-Minister*" (the Earl of Malmesbury), and letter from Lord Granville in the *Times* of October 7, 1884.

spectively nineteen and sixteen years, on that day were following a band playing before a regiment, and they were walking like any other persons, between the band and the head of the regiment, when the elder of the two was suddenly struck by an officer on the back with the flat of his sword, and on his turning round and expostulating with the officer who inflicted the blow, he was struck in the face by another officer, while the original assailant inflicted a severe blow on his head with the sharp edge of his sword, which rendered it necessary for him to be conducted to the hospital. The Austrian officer, however, who struck the blow on Mr. Mather's head, declared that he had not the slightest idea that he was an Englishman. The case was first taken up by Lord Granville; but it was continued by Lord Malmesbury, his successor. A long correspondence ensued, and the matter was eventually settled by diplomatic negotiation.¹

The Tuscan Government expressed its profound regret at the violence inflicted on Mr. Mather, and repelled all idea of that unhappy event being considered as in any wise testifying disrespect towards Her Majesty or the English nation. At the same time it recognised in its fullest sense the duty of protecting British subjects by the ordinary tribunals as a general rule, and by the executive authority in all those cases in which the ordinary tribunals could not be applied to, including such as might arise during the then existing arrangement with Austria respecting the auxiliary troops of that Government stationed in the Tuscan territory, His Imperial and

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 42, p. 474.

Royal Highness accepted the full responsibility which attached to the duty of the aforesaid protection.

On February 27, 1852, a Conservative Government came into office; and on March 5 following, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs—Prince Schwarzenberg—addressed a despatch to the Austrian Ambassador in London—Count Buol—in which he said, “La nouvelle de la formation du nouveau Ministère sous les auspices du Comte de Derby a été accueillée par le Cabinet Impérial avec un sentiment de véritable satisfaction,” etc.¹

In his *second* term (1870-4), Lord Granville was called upon to deal with the following important questions: the attitude of this country in the war between France and Prussia; the neutrality of Belgium therein; the limitation of the Russian and Turkish naval forces in the Black Sea; the navigation of the rivers Danube and Pruth; the constitution of the German Empire, and the affairs of Central Asia (1873).

During his lordship's *third* term of office (1880-5) the following questions had to be dealt with, in execution of the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878): the boundary of Montenegro; the Russo-Turkish boundary in Asia; the Turco-Greek frontier (which was settled by the treaty of May 24, 1881); reforms, etc., in Armenia; the Turco-Persian boundary; the frontier between Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia; the Danubian frontier; the frontier of Bulgaria and Turkey; the Roumanian-Bulgarian (Dobrudza); the Danubian frontier on

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 42, p. 438.

the Danube near Silistria ; the navigation of the Danube. There were also the questions of Egypt and the Suez Canal ; the navigation of the Congo and Niger ; the suppression of the African slave trade by land as well as by sea ; the temporary British occupation of Port Hamilton (April-June, 1885) ; Samoa (1884-5) ; affairs of Central Asia (1883) ; finances of Egypt (1884-5) ; the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon (26 January, 1885) ; grant of the North Borneo Charter (1 November, 1881) ; differences between France and China (1883-4) ; affairs of Zanzibar (January to June, 1885) ; and the three Rules of the Treaty of Washington.

Lord Granville's handwriting was, at times, not very legible, and on one occasion he sent the following minute into the office :—

“FOREIGN OFFICE, *March* 18, 1873.

“I employ an amanuensis, for reasons which I need not state, to say that the question having been raised in the Cabinet whether the handwriting of the Foreign Office and of the Diplomatic Service has not deteriorated from the perfection to which Mr. Canning and Lord Palmerston had brought it, I was obliged to give an assent by silence.

“GRANVILLE.”

Earl Granville died on March 31, 1891.

The Earl of Malmesbury was Foreign Secretary from February 27 till December 28, 1852 (in the Ministry of the fourteenth Earl of Derby) ; and again (in Lord Derby's Ministry) from February 26, 1858, till June 18, 1859.

During his *first* tenure of office, in 1852, the most

pressing questions which engaged his attention were :¹ the demand made by the French Government for the expulsion of Socialistic refugees from Switzerland ; the confiscation by the French Government of the Orleans property ; the claim of Prussia to Neufchâtel ; the claims of Abbas Pasha in Egypt of power of life and death, refused by the Sultan ; the succession to the Greek and Danish crowns which were satisfactorily settled by conventions ; and the great uncertainty respecting Louis Napoleon's intentions as to his policy, and as to making himself Emperor, but which title, as Napoleon III., was eventually recognised.

Lord Malmesbury stated in his *Memoirs* that he did not require any advice or assistance from the Foreign Office in the settlement of these and other disputes. He said, when he assumed his duties at the Foreign Office, "all the staff were kindly disposed, but I could see they expected me to give them much trouble, and to ask their advice. They were surprised to see how I knew the routine work, and all the *verbiage* of the profession, as I did thoroughly, from having, in 1844, published the *Memoirs, State Papers, and Correspondence* of my grandfather, the 1st Earl."²

Still, I think it is evident, from the wording of the following minute which he addressed "To Mr. Under Secretary Hammond and the Gentlemen of the Foreign Office," on his giving up the Seals of Office in 1858, that, during his terms of

¹ *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, by the Earl of Malmesbury, vol. i. p. 320.

² Vol. i. p. 319.

office, he must have derived valuable assistance from the "office" as his predecessors had done :—

"I cannot part with you for the second time in my official capacity without sincerely thanking you for the continued assistance you have rendered me during my tenure of, perhaps, the most arduous post under the Crown. My former experience of the laudable *esprit de corps* which pervades you all ensured me the aid which you know to be indispensable to the creditable conduct of a great Public Department, and I feel assured that for your own sakes you will always afford it to every Minister equally ; but I must be allowed further to notice with gratitude the spontaneous and obliging manner in which that aid has been rendered by all with whom the duties of the time may have brought me into personal connection. It has displayed a sentiment of personal regard and respect which I can never forget, and which I earnestly assure you is sincerely returned by

"Your faithful Servant,

"MALMESBURY."

During Lord Malmesbury's *second* term of office (1858-9) the relations with France were again in a very unsatisfactory state, and among the more important questions which engaged his lordship's serious attention were : the seizure of the Sardinian vessel, the *Cagliari*, by Sicilian insurgents, and the imprisonment of two English engineers employed on board ; the union of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, including the question of the flag, which was settled by the convention of August 19, 1858 ; the differences between Germany and Denmark respecting Holstein ; the correspondence with France and Portugal respect-

ing the detention and condemnation of the French vessel, the *Charles et Georges*, by Portuguese authorities, at Mozambique, on the charge of slave trading; the proposal made by Russia for a European Congress to settle the affairs of Italy, to include (as proposed by Austria) the question of disarmament; and the outbreak of war between Sardinia and France on the one hand and Austria on the other (April, May, 1859).

The following incident, in connection with the case of the *Cagliari*, is mentioned in order to show the great importance of H.M.'s representatives abroad adhering strictly to the instructions which they may receive from the Secretary of State.

In 1857-8 a long correspondence passed between the British, Sardinian, and Neapolitan Governments with reference to the seizure of the Sardinian vessel the *Cagliari* by Sicilian insurgents, and the imprisonment of two British subjects (Messrs. Watt and Park). In the course of the correspondence an unfortunate error occurred. Sir James Hudson, who was then H.M.'s Minister at Turin, was instructed by Lord Clarendon (who was Foreign Secretary when the incident arose) to address a note to Count Cavour, inquiring *whether the Sardinian Government meant to object* to the proceedings taken by the Neapolitan Government in the case of the seizure, with reference to the detention of the two British subjects found on board that vessel, on the ground that the Neapolitan vessel of war had no right to pursue the *Cagliari* and to capture her beyond Neapolitan territorial jurisdiction. Sir James Hudson drafted

a note to Count Cavour in that sense, and sent it into the Chancery to be copied ; but a very material alteration was unfortunately made in it by the Secretary of Legation, who, in copying the despatch out fair for Sir James Hudson's signature, altered the passage inquiring *whether the Sardinian Government meant to object* to the proceedings adopted by the Neapolitan Government, and made it run thus : "I have been instructed to acquaint your Excellency that *Her Majesty's Government are disposed to object* to these proceedings, etc." A copy of Sir James Hudson's note was communicated to the Earl of Malmesbury (who had succeeded Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office) by the Sardinian Minister in London, and Sir James Hudson was at once called upon to send home a copy of the note which he had addressed to Count Cavour respecting the *Cagliari*, and to state on what authority he had said in it that "Her Majesty's Government were disposed to object to the Neapolitan proceedings in regard to the pursuit and capture of the vessel." Sir James Hudson replied that in the draft which he had sent to the Chancery to be copied he had not said so, but that it had been altered without his knowledge by the gentleman who copied it for his signature, and that he had not discovered the discrepancy, because he was not in the habit of comparing the notes which he signed, when he had once approved the drafts, with the drafts themselves. This explanation was considered unsatisfactory, and the Secretary of Legation was told that his conduct in making so material an alteration in the sense of the letter to Count Cavour, without calling Sir

James Hudson's attention to it, was quite inexcusable. The matter was deemed so important that the draft as originally penned by Sir James Hudson, with the alteration made in it by the Secretary of Legation, were reproduced in facsimile and laid before Parliament with the rest of the correspondence on the subject.¹

The Earl of Malmesbury died on May 17, 1889.

Lord John Russell was Foreign Secretary (in the Earl of Aberdeen's Ministry) from December 28, 1852, till February 21, 1853; and again (in the Ministry of Viscount Palmerston), from June 18, 1859, till November 3, 1865. He was raised to the peerage as Earl Russell and Viscount Amberley, January 30, 1861.

Nothing of any great international importance occurred during Lord John Russell's short tenure of office in 1852-3.

During his *second* term of office (1859-65) numerous questions of great importance arose, not only in Europe, but also in other portions of the globe.

In Europe the most important of these were: the recognition of the election of Colonel Couza as Hospodar of Moldavia, and also of Wallachia (September 6, 1859); the war between France and Sardinia against Austria, which was finally terminated by the Treaties of Zurich (November 10, 1859), embracing various points connected with Italy, in which this country took a lively interest; the renewal (in June, 1859) of diplomatic relations

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 48, p. 326.

with the Two Sicilies (which had been suspended since October, 1856), and the internal affairs of the kingdom of Naples; the recognition of the King of Sardinia as King of Italy (March 30, 1861); the armed intervention of European Powers for the restoration of tranquillity in Syria; the administration of the Lebanon; the affairs of Greece and the succession to the Greek throne; the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece (1863); the Greek Loan; the affairs of Poland; the continuation of the dispute with France and Portugal, respecting the seizure of the *Charles et Georges* at Mozambique, on a charge of being engaged in the slave trade; the differences between Germany and Denmark, respecting Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig, and the integrity of the Danish monarchy (1861-4); and the redemption of the Scheldt Toll (July 16, 1863).

In the Western Hemisphere, chief among the important questions which arose was the Civil War in North America, which led to numerous questions arising out of the depredations committed by the *Alabama*, and to other complications far too numerous to be alluded to here; and the combined operations of Great Britain, France, and Spain against Mexico (October 31, 1861).

Lord Russell was Foreign Secretary during the entire duration of the Civil War in the United States (1861-4).

In Central and South America, the cession of the Bay Islands to Honduras (November 28, 1859), and arrangements with Nicaragua and Honduras respecting the Mosquito Indians (November 28,

1859, and January 28, 1860); the dispute with Brazil (1863-5), in the cases of the *Prince of Wales*, H.M.S. *Forte*, etc., which led to the suspension of diplomatic relations; the suspension of friendly relations with Paraguay (1859-62); and hostilities in the River Plate (1864-5).

In Africa, the relations with Abyssinia, and the appointment of Consul Cameron (February 2, 1861); the subsequent imprisonment of Consul Cameron, and others, by King Theodore; and the settlement of differences between Muscat and Zanzibar (April 2, 1861).

In Asia, the differences with Japan and the employment of coercive measures in the Straits of Shimonosaki (1864); the joint British and French expedition against China (1860); and the subsequent conclusion of a Convention of Peace and Friendship with that country (October 25, 1860).

During the dispute with the United States respecting the *Alabama* claims, a collection of books, bearing chiefly on American questions, was advertised for sale by auction, and on looking over the catalogue I marked four books which I thought might be useful to the Foreign Office Library, and as my bookseller told me, in answer to my query as to the price they would probably fetch, that such books rarely fetched more than one or two shillings, I authorised him to bid for me, and he did so. The first book was knocked down to me for eighteen pence, the second at half a crown, the third at two shillings, but when the fourth was put up, there was, I was told, a lively competition for it, one of the competitors being an

American, and it was eventually knocked down to me for £100! This book, or rather unbound pamphlet of about 150 pages, bore the following title:—

THE BRITISH TREATY.

With
an Appendix
of
STATE PAPERS;
which are now first published.

AMERICA:

Printed, unknown where, or by whom sold.

LONDON:

Re-printed for John Joseph Stockdale, 41, Pall Mall.
1808.

Price 3s. 6d.

The treaty referred to was the “Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America. Signed at London, 19 November, 1794.”

This has been a lesson to me, and I have never since given a *carte blanche* to anyone—bookseller or anyone else—to bid for me at a sale without limiting him to a price beforehand. My only consolation at the time was, that, if at that particular moment it was worth while for an American to give such a high price for this book, it was to the interest of this country to prevent him from then obtaining it.

One day, during the time when Lord Russell was Foreign Secretary, I received a letter from a lady who had a grievance against the Foreign Office, and who thought that I was the cause of her claim not

being more favourably entertained than it had been by the Secretary of State, in which she said that unless I recommended her for more money than she had received (which was a large sum) for surrendering certain official papers which had come into her possession through the decease of her husband (but to which she had no possible right whatever), she would shortly become a pauper "if not a criminal." On my making this known to the Under Secretary, I was asked if I felt alarmed at this implied threat, for that if I did, the matter should be placed in the hands of the police; but I at once disclaimed any fear on the subject, and it was as well that I did so, for the next day I received another letter from the lady, apologising for having, in her anger, written me such "a silly letter." But a few months afterwards she wrote another letter to the Secretary of State (Earl Russell) saying that she had spent all the money which had been given to her and asking for some more, on the ground that she had come across some still more valuable papers which she had omitted to send to the office with the others; but upon his lordship being told that she had declared, in writing, that she had given up *all* the papers in her possession, and had given a receipt for the sum given to her "in satisfaction of all demands," he wrote a minute in which he said, "*Let her rest and be thankful.*" She was therefore written to and told (of course not in the same words) that nothing more could be done for her; but not being satisfied with this reply, she called upon me again, and after expressing her dissatisfaction at the letter which she had received, she said, "Do you suppose I'm

going to *rest and be thankful?*” This rather startled me, as I had in a locked red box by my side the Secretary of State’s minute, which she could not possibly have seen. I assured her, however, that no further appeals which she might make would be likely to have the smallest effect after the declaration which she had made and the receipt which she had given, and she eventually ceased to trouble the office.

I will now mention an incident which occurred in January, 1860, respecting the production of official papers in courts of law, also at the time when Lord John Russell was Foreign Secretary.

For several months in the preceding year a firm of solicitors had addressed letters to the Secretary of State praying for the production of certain papers in a trial for libel which was then about to take place in the Court of Exchequer; but, on the advice of the law officers of the Crown, the request for the production of these papers was refused.

On the evening before the trial, just as I was about to leave the office, someone knocked at my door, and on my saying “Come in,” a gentleman, who afterwards proved to be a lawyer’s clerk, inquired, “Is this Mr. Hertslet’s room?” I informed him that it was, whereupon he inquired, “Are you Mr. Hertslet?” to which I replied, “Yes,” and he then handed me a “*sub-pœna duces tecum.*” Not suspecting what it was, I opened it, when I saw at once that it had reference to the trial, which was set down for hearing the next morning at ten o’clock. I therefore said to the clerk, “Why, you have been told officially, in writing, that it would not be convenient to the

public service that these papers should be produced"; to which he replied, "We have had some very unsatisfactory letters from the Foreign Office, but, having ascertained that the papers are in *your personal* custody, we have obtained a *subpœna* for *you* to produce them, and you will have the goodness to do so." I assured him that I could not, upon which he simply remarked, "Well, we will see what the judge says to that to-morrow morning." He then left my room.

On being informed of what had taken place, Lord J. Russell desired me to proceed at once to the Attorney-General that evening with a letter from the Under Secretary requesting that I might be protected in court the next morning.

I hurried off to the chambers of the Attorney-General (Sir Richard Bethell, afterwards Lord Chancellor Westbury), in Lincoln's Inn; but it was now between seven and eight o'clock, and he had gone home. I therefore drove to his private residence in Westbourne Terrace, which I reached about eight. On knocking at the door, I inquired if the Attorney-General was within, to which a manservant replied, "Yes, sir; but he is having his dinner." I then handed him my letter, and asked him to deliver it at once, saying that I would wait for the answer. At this the manservant looked very much astonished, and said, "Really, sir, I dare not; he's having his dinner, as I told you."

I therefore stepped into the passage and asked the servant to show me into some room where I could wait until he could find an opportunity of delivering to his master Mr. Hammond's letter. I

was then shown into the drawing-room, where I sat for about a quarter of an hour, after which time the door was slowly opened, and a gentleman, in a slow, deliberate voice, and with his hand still on the handle of the door, addressed me thus, "It is very inconvenient my being disturbed in this way." I expressed my regret, and assured him it was no pleasure to me to be driving about London at that time of the evening, but that I was simply obeying my instructions. Upon this he shut the door, and said, smiling, "Very true; perhaps, after all, you are more to be pitied than I am." We then sat down, and his next remark was, "Mr. Hammond has written me a most amusing letter; he requests I will protect you in the Court of Exchequer to-morrow morning. How can I possibly protect you?" I pointed out that, as one of the law officers, he had reported to the Foreign Office that certain papers asked for in the case in question ought not to be produced by the Secretary of State, and that I individually had been called upon to produce them; and I ventured to suggest that when my name was called he might rise in his place and explain the matter; at which he laughed and said, "You evidently don't know the practice of the courts of law. The judge will call you, and no one else can answer. You are in a difficulty, I must admit, and it is a pity that you didn't throw the *subpœna* in the insolent attorney's face." (Sir Richard Bethell did act in this way himself a few months afterwards, I am told, and got into great trouble for doing so.) "However," he said, "you must consider well whom you

will obey—the Secretary of State or the judge.” I replied without hesitation, “Oh, I have quite made up my mind upon that point.” “Indeed,” he observed, “may I ask you whom you will obey?” I at once replied, “My master, the Secretary of State.” “And you will disobey the order of the judge?” said he. “Yes,” said I; “my duty is to *keep* the papers, and I will do so, unless the Secretary of State authorises me to part with them.” “Then,” said he, “to prison you will go to a certainty, and I cannot help you. But, really, it is a matter in which I cannot interfere, and I should advise you to see the Solicitor to the Treasury” (at that time Mr. Greenwood).

He nevertheless did give me the following piece of advice: Not to take any of the papers mentioned in the *subpœna* into court, but, when called upon as a witness, to state that the originals of the papers required were believed to be in the archives of one of H.M.’s embassies abroad; that copies of them existed at the Foreign Office; but that Lord John Russell, H.M.’s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, acting under advice, considered that it would be highly detrimental to the interests of the public service that such documents should be produced in court, and had therefore desired me not to bring them with me (which, strictly speaking, his lordship had not done).

He then wished me “Good-night,” and as I did not know Mr. Greenwood’s address, and it was then past nine o’clock, I went home; but early next morning, having ascertained his address, I went to Mr. Greenwood, and told him what

had passed. He at once saw the difficulty I was in, but said, "I think I can help you out of it." I inquired how, and he then said, "*You*, personally, have not got the papers, have you?" I replied, "I'm afraid I have." "In your *custody*, perhaps," said he, "but you have not got them in your actual possession—in your drawer, I mean?" To which I again replied, "I'm afraid I have." "Oh, then," said he, "I'm afraid you will have to go to prison if you positively decline to obey the judge's *subpœna duces tecum*, but they will only detain you probably for a short time, just to vindicate the majesty of the law!"

It was now close upon ten o'clock, and he advised me to leave at once for the court, lest I should be punished for contempt also for not appearing! So I left, and on my way to the court I met my friend the late Sir Edmund Hornby, H.M.'s Judge of the Supreme Court at Constantinople, and, he being an official, I told him of the dilemma I was in. After hearing my story, he asked, "Will you really decline to produce the papers?" I said, "Certainly I shall decline to do so"; upon which he remarked, "then I will come and see how you do it, for I have been a judge for some time, and I have never been defied yet." This was not very encouraging, as I well remembered that although Lord John Russell, through Mr. Hammond, had desired me to go to the Attorney-General, and be guided by his instructions, yet that his lordship had not forbidden me to produce the papers; that the Attorney-General had declined to assist me in court; that I had had no time to obtain Lord John Russell's final instructions after my

interview with the Attorney-General; and that therefore if I refused to produce the papers I did so on my own responsibility.

I had not been many minutes in the court before a clerk in the War Office came up to me and inquired if I had been *subpœnaed* on the trial, and on my saying "Yes," and observing that I had nothing in my hand, he asked me where my papers were. I told him I had none to produce. "What!" said he in astonishment, "won't you produce any?, then I will decline to produce mine," and, handing me a packet, he said, "Please hold these in case I am called." He had no sooner said so than his name was called in court. He at once answered to it, and in reply to the question whether he had got certain papers with him from the War Office, he said that *he had not!* This produced quite a sensation among the plaintiff's counsel, and one of them, Mr. Edwin James, at once rose and complained that he had been badly treated by the War Office. He said he had seen Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary of State for War, the night before, and that he had promised that a clerk from the War Office should attend next day with the papers he had asked for, "And now," said Mr. James, "the clerk says he has not got them." The judge, Baron Bramwell, smiled, but told Mr. James that the only advice he could give him was to *subpœna* Mr. Sidney Herbert himself. "I'm much obliged to you, my lord, for the suggestion," said Mr. Edwin James, and proceeded forthwith to fill up a *subpœna* addressed to Mr. Sidney Herbert. The War Office clerk was unaware of what had passed between Mr.

Sidney Herbert and Mr. Edwin James, and at once left the court and proceeded to the War Office to inform his chief of what had happened. After a short delay the Secretary of State took his seat beside the judge. In answer to the inquiry whether he would produce certain papers which were considered important in the case, he said he did not think it would be to the interest of the public service that they should be produced. But the judge asked the question point-blank, "Do you decline to produce them, Mr. Herbert?" to which he answered, "Yes, I do." "Then," said the judge, addressing Mr. Edwin James, and smiling, "now you can try the point by committing Mr. Sidney Herbert to prison for contempt of court," at which Mr. James shook his head, and said, "No, my lord, I should be very sorry to try the point in the case of so important a personage as Mr. Sidney Herbert"; and Mr. Herbert then left the court. I need not say what my feelings were at hearing these remarks, remembering the disparity which existed between my official position and that of Mr. Sidney Herbert, and fully expecting that I should be the next witness called.

However, to proceed, there was standing beside me in the court a clerk from the Commander-in-Chief's Office, and he begged of me to hold his papers also, in the event of his being called; but, being perfectly satisfied with my own unpleasant position as it stood, I declined to do so. But the clerk had made up his mind not to produce them, after what had passed, and feeling that they would be safe even *near me* (!) he placed them on the

floor, close to my feet. He then told me that he had a letter from the Duke of Cambridge in his pocket, addressed to the judge, to say that, in the opinion of H.R.H., the papers were of such a confidential nature they ought not to be produced in court, and I therefore advised him to hand in his letter, without remark, as soon as he was called. This he did, and if I remember rightly the judge decided that they need not be produced under those circumstances.

It was now past one o'clock, and the court rose for luncheon, when Sir Edmund Hornby said to me, "Now is your opportunity ; you are in a painful position, for the court is getting angry at information being thus withheld by the public offices, and when they call you, after luncheon, as they certainly will do, it will go hard with you if you simply decline, *upon your own responsibility*, to produce the papers called for in the *subpœna duces tecum* addressed to you personally. Come, therefore, with me, and I will introduce you to Mr. Edwin James, and try and induce him not to call you." So we entered the body of the court together. At first Mr. James wouldn't listen to the proposal ; but, turning round, and seeing me, he inquired, "Is this Mr. Hertslet?" to which I replied, "Yes ; if you call me I can only give you the same answer as that which you have received from the War Office, and the Commander-in-Chief's Office, namely, that it would be exceedingly inconvenient to the public service that these papers should be produced, and I am very anxious to get back to my pressing duties at the Foreign Office." "Very well, then," said

Mr. Edwin James, "I won't call you." "Thank you very much," said I, and I said so feelingly, for I was greatly relieved, and was glad to escape the risk of being imprisoned for contempt of court for refusing to produce the papers.

One morning, on entering our temporary quarters in Whitehall Gardens, I saw a man pacing up and down the passage, and a policeman watching him. I had seen an announcement in the *Times* that a dangerous lunatic had escaped from Hanwell and was still at large, and this individual turned out to be the identical man. He had asked to see Lord John Russell, but his lordship had declined to see him. As I entered the office he passed me, and I heard him say aloud, "I want to see someone in authority," but I took no notice of his remark and went into my room. He then entered the waiting-room and sat down, but the policeman followed him, and going up to him told him that he must leave the office and not disturb gentlemen at their work. He declined to leave, saying, "I admit I have escaped from Hanwell, but, according to the law of England, if a person should escape from a lunatic asylum and remain at large for a fortnight, without committing any insane act, he cannot be taken back to the asylum without a fresh order from a Justice of the Peace." He then commenced to write a letter, upon which the policeman in the room called to another policeman who was outside, and asked him to fetch a sergeant from Scotland Yard. The sergeant soon arrived, and, on his entering the room, the man repeated his statement as to his having escaped

from Hanwell, and expressed his views on the law of England as regarded an escaped lunatic ; but the sergeant replied, "I know nothing about that, but I cannot allow gentlemen to be disturbed in the public offices." As the man continued to repeat what he had said and refused to go, the sergeant called to the policeman in the room to seize one of his arms while he himself seized the other, and on giving the order, "Bring him along," the man was hurried down the main steps of the office and taken off to Scotland Yard. What became of him afterwards I never heard.

An incident which occurred in 1865, when a correspondence was passing between the British and Russian Governments respecting the proceedings of Russia in Central Asia, may be briefly alluded to here.

A report had reached H.M.'s Government that the Russian army in the desert of Khokand was preparing to advance to Kashgar and Yarkand, and as the progress which Russia was then making in Bokhara and in other territories in Central Asia was open to suspicion, Earl Russell instructed Mr. Savile Lumley (afterwards Lord Savile), then H.M.'s *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg, to inform Prince Gortchakow of the rumours which had reached H.M.'s Government, and to make the following proposal, with a view to the removal of every cause which might threaten the good understanding between England and Russia. The proposal was embodied in a despatch to Mr. Lumley (July 31, 1865), and ran as follows :—

"Her Majesty's Government consider it would be useful for this end if the two Powers were to

make friendly explanations to each other, based on the present state of affairs.

"Her Majesty's Government on their part are determined to respect the present state of possession in Central Asia. Her Majesty's Government will also respect the independence of the Persian Monarchy, will be careful not to encroach upon the territory of Persia, and will act in such a manner as may best support and strengthen the sovereignty of the Shah.

"If His Majesty the Emperor of Russia will be prepared to make analogous declarations, Her Majesty's Government think that without the formality of a Convention an exchange of notes might take place which would tend to settle the minds of the inhabitants of Central Asia, and prevent misunderstandings, thereby affording a fresh security for the maintenance of peace between the two Empires."¹

In reply to this proposal the Russian Ambassador in London, then Baron Brunnow, was instructed by his Government "to repeat the assurance that it had in Central Asia no other interest save that of repose, of the security of the Russian frontiers, and of the establishment of commercial and pacific relations with their neighbours, by which Russia would not profit alone."

To this Lord Russell replied on September 16, 1865 as follows :—

"These assurances are satisfactory, but it would have given Her Majesty's Government still greater confidence if Prince Gortchakow had replied to the declaration of the views of Her Majesty's Government by a similar declaration.

"Her Majesty's Government, however, are

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 63, pp. 1306, 1312.

willing to accept the explanation of the principles which guide the policy of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, contained in the Circular (which was referred to), and are quite ready to believe that legitimate desires for the extension of commerce, and the security of the Russian frontiers, and no wish for territorial aggrandisement guide the proceedings of the Government of Russia.

"Such an extension of commerce, and the security of the Russian frontiers, will no doubt tend to the advantage of other nations who carry on trade with Central Asia, and of none more than Great Britain."

It was feared in the "Office" that this reply would not be likely to stop the advance of the Russian armies, and the cartoon shown on p. 120 was accordingly sketched by one of our local artists, showing Lord Russell trying to put salt on the tail of the Russian eagle!

On giving up his Seals of the Foreign Office, Lord Russell wrote the following minute¹:—

"Being about to give up the Seals of the Foreign Office, Lord Russell requests all the members of the office to accept the expression of his grateful thanks for the energy and goodwill that they have shown, and the zealous and able assistance they have rendered to him during the time that he has had the honour of being Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"He wishes this minute to remain in the Foreign Office, and he requests Mr. Hammond to communicate it to his successor. "RUSSELL."

Earl Russell died on May 28, 1878.

¹ Laid before Parliament in 1868, with the "Statements respecting Foreign Office Agencies."



AN ATTEMPT TO PUT SALT ON THE RUSSIAN EAGLE'S TAIL

The Right Hon. George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon, was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (in the administration of the Earl of Aberdeen, and afterwards of Viscount Palmerston) from February 21, 1853, till February 26, 1858; again, from November 3, 1865, till July 6, 1866 (in Earl Russell's administration); and, for the third time (in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's Administration), from December 9, 1868, till June 27, 1870.

I may, perhaps, be excused for relating a little incident that occurred when the Earl of Clarendon was first appointed Foreign Secretary, in 1853; he was conducted round the office by Mr. Addington, who was then Permanent Under Secretary of State. Mr. Addington had a great aversion to smoking, and, in course of conversation with his lordship, as they passed through the rooms, he informed him that there was a very stringent rule against anyone smoking during office hours; upon which his lordship—who was himself an inveterate smoker—observed, with a smile, "Oh, indeed," and taking out his cigar-case handed it to Mr. Addington, saying, "Can I offer you a cigar?" This remark was observed and soon got wind in the office, and from that moment it was considered that the prohibitory rule against smoking, which it is believed was laid down by the Earl of Aberdeen, was thus cancelled by his successor, the Earl of Clarendon.

Soon after his first appointment (in February, 1853), war broke out between Russia and Turkey (October 4, 1853); and on March 28, 1854, war was declared by Great Britain against Russia, in support of Turkey, which was eventually terminated

by the Treaty of Peace, signed by Lord Clarendon and Lord Cowley (at that time H.M.'s Ambassador at Paris) on March 30, 1856.

Lord Clarendon held the Seals of the Foreign Office during the whole course of the war between this country and Russia, at which time many important questions connected with the affairs in the East engaged his serious attention, such, for instance, as the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia; the free navigation of the Danube; the limitation of the naval forces of Russia and Turkey in the Black Sea; the treatment of the Christian subjects of the Porte; the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; and the passage of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. All these questions were discussed in conferences between the representatives of four of the Great Powers and Turkey, at Vienna, between March and June, 1855, and were settled for a time by the Treaty of Peace with Russia of March 30, 1856. The protocol respecting mediation, and the declaration respecting maritime law were also signed by Lord Clarendon, at Paris, in April, 1856.

During the war between this country and Russia, that is to say, in December, 1855, the Shah of Persia wrote a letter to his minister, the Sadr Azim, in which he spoke of the English minister at Teheran, then Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Murray, in most insulting terms, and required him to leave the Persian capital. This led to a declaration of war by this country against Persia, which lasted from November 1, 1856, till March 4, 1857, when a Treaty of Peace was signed at Paris by Lord Clarendon and the Persian minister. In the Treaty

this insulting letter was declared to be withdrawn, and an ample apology offered in an official letter, signed by the Persian minister in Paris, which was annexed to the treaty.¹

Other important questions were, during this period, settled by his lordship, such as the integrity of Sweden and Norway (treaty of November 21, 1855); the Sound Dues (treaty with Denmark March 14, 1857); and the questions of Neufchâtel and Valengin (treaty with Switzerland, May 26, 1857); also arrangements respecting the Bessarabian frontier, the Isle of Serpents, and the delta of the Danube, in 1857; and the Turco-Russian frontier in Asia, in 1857. Differences with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies led to the suspension of diplomatic relations (October 28, 1856), which were not renewed during his lordship's first tenure of office.

Official intercourse with the United States was also discontinued (May 28, 1856), on account of the proceedings of Sir John Crampton, H.M.'s minister at Washington, on the recruiting question, and diplomatic relations were not renewed until January, 1857.

Disputes also arose with Bolivia, which led to the suspension of diplomatic relations from October 21, 1853, till July 6, 1857.

On resigning the Seals of the Foreign Office, in 1858, Lord Clarendon issued the following minute :—

“It was my intention to have taken leave to-day individually of the gentlemen of the Office; but as this was rendered impossible by the pressure

¹ *Hertslet's Treaties*, vol. x., p. 951.

of business, I must request Mr. Hammond to bid them farewell in my name, to express to them the high sense I entertain of the talent and ability by which, as a body, they are distinguished, and to assure them that I shall hold in grateful remembrance the zeal with which their arduous duties have been performed during the five years that I have been at the head of the Department. I shall always take an interest in their welfare; and it is a source of great satisfaction to me that, while I was Secretary of State, arrangements were made by which the position and prospects of the Clerks in the Foreign Office have been improved.

“CLARENDON.”

During Lord Clarendon's *second* term of office (1865-6) the following were among the most important political questions with which he had to deal: the Egyptian Succession; the proposed assembly of a Congress for the preservation of Peace (May and June, 1866); the outbreak of war between Austria and Prussia and the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation (June 14, 1866); conferences at Paris respecting the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (May and June, 1866); the war between Spain and Chile and Peru (1865-66), and hostilities in the River Plate.

On quitting office in 1866, Lord Clarendon addressed the following letter to Mr. Hammond:—

“GROSVENOR CRESCENT, *July 6, 1866.*

“MY DEAR HAMMOND,—Will you have the goodness to convey to the Clerks of the Foreign Office my cordial thanks for the assistance they have given me during the time that I have presided over the Department.

"It will be a matter of lasting regret that I did not personally become better acquainted with them, and particularly with those gentlemen who have from time to time furnished me with such valuable memoranda for my information and guidance; but when I was at the office the pressure of business was so great that I deferred, until it was too late, giving effect to my intentions.

"I have always felt, however, that whoever was at the head of the Foreign Office might well be proud of his staff, as I am certain there is no Department in the country where the public business is conducted with the same zeal and completeness, or where confidence is repaid by such perfect integrity and honour.

"Yours, etc., CLARENDON."¹

The principal political question which engaged Lord Clarendon's attention during his *third* tenure of office (1868-70) was the dispute between Greece and Turkey; and his lordship was anxiously dealing with the question of the state of affairs in Greece when he died, after a short illness, at his own private residence on June 27, 1870.

His death was very deeply and universally felt, not only in this country but also abroad, and copies of the numerous communications which were received by H.M.'s Government from foreign Governments, as well as from H.M.'s Representatives at foreign Courts, conveying the expressions of their deep regret at hearing of his lordship's decease, were laid before Parliament.

¹ Similar minutes, equally complimentary to the clerks in the office, although couched in different language, have been issued since this date by every Foreign Secretary on his quitting office.

A marble full-length statue was erected to his memory at the right-hand side of the grand staircase at the new Foreign Office, where it now stands.

Before he succeeded to the title of the Earl of Clarendon he held the post of H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Madrid from August 16, 1833, till October 18, 1839, and after his succession to the peerage, as 4th Earl of Clarendon, he held various high and important offices of State, including that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from May 26, 1847, till February 18, 1852.

In May, 1855, he accompanied Her Majesty to Paris; and in 1856 he was joint British Plenipotentiary, with Lord Cowley—H.M.'s Ambassador at Paris—at the conferences held there, and, as already stated, signed the Treaty of Peace with Russia of March 30 of that year. On October 1, 1861, he was sent on a special embassy to King William I. of Prussia on the occasion of H.M.'s coronation at Königsberg.¹

¹ A more detailed statement of the services of this great statesman is given in the *Foreign Office List*, 2nd edit., 1870, p. 75; and also in the *Annual Register*. The names of those noblemen who have filled the office of Foreign Secretary since the death of Lord Clarendon, in 1870, are given in the Appendix, pp. 264, 265.

CHAPTER VI

UNDER SECRETARIES

IT is not my intention to record in detail the valuable services of all the various Permanent Under Secretaries of State who held that important post during the time that I was in the old office, or of those of the senior officials, but I may perhaps be excused for relating a few anecdotes and incidents connected with Mr. George Hammond, Mr. J. Backhouse, Mr. Edmund Hammond, the Bidwells, Mr. G. Lenox-Conyngham, and my father, Mr. Lewis Hertslet.

Mr. John Backhouse, who was Permanent Under Secretary of State when I first entered the office, was a native of Liverpool. He was the son of one of the oldest merchants of that town, and was for several years the salaried agent in London for the commercial bodies of Liverpool. He resigned that appointment in 1822, when he was succeeded by Mr. William Wainwright. On his retirement, Mr. Backhouse was appointed to a clerkship at the India Office; but he resigned that appointment two years later, on being made a Commissioner of Excise. In 1827 he was appointed Receiver-General of that department, and on April 23 of the same year he was appointed Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which post he held

until March 4, 1842, when he retired on account of ill health, and was succeeded by Mr. Henry Unwin Addington. Mr. Backhouse died at Hans Place, Chelsea, on November 13, 1845, in the sixty-second year of his age.¹

Mr. Backhouse's son, George Canning Backhouse, was appointed to an assistant junior clerkship in the Foreign Office on April 5, 1838. He was attached to the Legation at Frankfort for some months during the year 1841, and was appointed H.M.'s Commissary Judge at Havana, December 16, 1852. On August 31, 1855, he was murdered at his post by a Mulatto who, accompanied by others of a gang, attacked him in his own house about eight o'clock in the evening for the purpose of plundering his dwelling. There was, it was said, no political motive for this murder. I remember him well; he was a most quiet, inoffensive man, and was very much liked by his colleagues in the Foreign Office.

Mr. George Hammond, the father of Mr. Edmund (afterwards Lord) Hammond, held several appointments abroad in the Diplomatic Service between 1783 and 1791. On July 5, 1791, when only twenty-eight years of age, he was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, being the first British Minister accredited to that republic. He held that appointment until October, 1795, when he was appointed Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but even after that time he was again employed abroad in the Diplomatic Service on several occasions. In 1806 he retired on a

¹ A detailed account of his services to the Liverpool merchants is given in the *Annual Register* for 1845, p. 313.

pension of £1,200 a year, but instead of receiving it himself, a pension of £600 was granted to him, at his own request, and a pension of £150 to each of his children—two sons and two daughters.¹

He was reappointed Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, March 30, 1807, and held the post till October 16, 1809.

In September, 1814, he was appointed a Joint Commissioner of Arbitration, with Mr. David Morier, for securing to British subjects in France indemnity for loss of property during the French Revolutionary War, which Commission sat until July, 1828.

He died in Portland Place, April 22, 1853.

Mr. Edmund Hammond was the youngest son of Mr. George Hammond. He was born in Spring Gardens, in 1802. He held a clerkship in the Privy Council Office before being appointed to a clerkship in the Foreign Office in April, 1824. In 1831 he was attached to Sir Stratford Canning's Special Mission to Constantinople, and in 1833 to his Mission to Madrid. He was head of the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office—which then included Persia, Turkey, and China—from 1830 till 1854. On April 10, 1854, he was appointed Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the retirement of Mr. H. U. Addington.

With the exception of Mr. Joseph Planta, who was promoted from the "office" to the post of Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1817, this was then (in 1854) the only instance in which such a promotion had been

¹ *Parliamentary Paper on Pensions*, 1838, p. 37.

made; but in more recent years there have been many instances in which senior clerks in the office have been promoted to be Assistant Under Secretaries, namely :—

James Murray (Assistant).

Hon. Charles Spring-Rice (Assistant).

Charles Stuart Aubrey Abbott, afterwards Lord Tenterden (Assistant and afterwards Permanent).

Thomas Villiers Lister, now Sir Villiers Lister (Assistant).

Philip H. W. Currie, afterwards Sir Philip, now Lord Currie (Assistant and afterwards Permanent).

Sir Thomas H. Sanderson (Assistant and afterwards Permanent).

Henry Percy Anderson, afterwards Sir Percy Anderson (Assistant).

Hon. Francis L. Bertie (Assistant).

Hon. Francis H. Villiers (Assistant).

In February, 1855, Mr. Hammond accompanied Lord John Russell on his special mission to Vienna.

He was sworn a Privy Councillor on June 11, 1866. He retired on October 10, 1873, on a pension of £2,500 a year, after fifty years' public service; and, on his retirement, a marble bust was subscribed for by his colleagues, and placed on a pedestal facing the grand staircase of the new Foreign Office, where it now stands. He was raised to the peerage, as Baron Hammond, on February 22, 1874. An absurd story got abroad at this time that he was only offered, by telegraph, a



Hammond

baronetcy, and that the word "barony" was wired in error; but there was nothing very unusual in his being raised to the peerage, as many precedents existed of Under Secretaries of State having been so raised.

The accompanying photograph was taken when he had passed the age of eighty by some years. He died at Mentone on April 29, 1890, aged eighty-eight.

Mr. Hammond was a man of very decided character and speech, and I should like to record some of the stories which are told about him.

On one occasion, one of the secretaries in H.M.'s Diplomatic Service, being in London, sought an interview with him on official business; they had not before met, and Mr. Hammond was unaware of the fact that this gentleman had a painful impediment in his speech. On entering Mr. Hammond's room he was invited to take a seat near to him, which he did; when, however, he commenced to speak, his voice failed him, and, in his nervousness, he drew his chair a little nearer to Mr. Hammond, and on his doing this a second time, without being able to give utterance to what he wished to say, Mr. Hammond was impressed with the idea that he was not in his right mind, and terminated the interview. The gentleman was naturally much hurt at this, as he was no lunatic, but a highly distinguished official; still he had nothing to do but to take his departure, and although he remained in the Diplomatic Service for many years afterwards, I am told that he never sought another interview with any official at the Foreign Office.

Mr. Hammond was subject to attacks of the gout,

and one day, when suffering from a very sharp attack, an officer in the Army sent in his card and requested a short interview. Mr. Hammond was sitting in an armchair, before the fire, reading the *Times* newspaper—a most unusual proceeding with him. The gentleman who called was the father of one of the Queen's foreign service messengers, and his object in calling was to express a hope that an application which had been made by his son for a short leave of absence, but which had been refused by the chief clerk, might be granted, since he had performed several fatiguing foreign journeys during the previous months. Upon hearing this appeal, Mr. Hammond smiled and remarked, "I suppose he wants to go out shooting"—an unfortunate remark, considering it was in the month of April. "No," replied the visitor sharply, "my son is not in the habit of telling falsehoods, or of making excuses, he wants rest." "Rest! rest! rest!" exclaimed Mr. Hammond, "I never take rest"; to which the gentleman rejoined, "No, I dare say not, with your feet sinking into Turkey carpets, and with nothing to do but to sit before the fire and read the *Times* newspaper, I dare say you don't require rest." This was a most cruel and unkind remark, and a severe blow to poor Mr. Hammond, who it was well known had always been one of the hardest-worked men in the Civil Service.

The messenger's leave was granted.

Many years ago a Chinese minister arrived in this country, and a day was fixed for his reception at the Foreign Office. It so happened that just before the hour appointed, a person in Chinese garb, and with

a long pigtail, entered the office, and the office-keeper having jumped to the conclusion that this was the expected ambassador, showed him into Mr. Hammond's room. On the Chinaman entering, Mr. Hammond rose politely from his seat to receive him; but as the stranger proceeded at once to appeal to him piteously for pecuniary assistance, saying, "Me very poor; me very hungry; me no home," Mr. Hammond was not slow in perceiving that he was not His Celestial Majesty's envoy, but a Chinaman in distress, who had gained entrance into his room. Fortunately for this poor man, a member of the British consular establishment in China happened to be in London, on leave of absence, at the time, and on the incident being mentioned to him he sought out the man, and after a little conversation with him, discovered that he knew the man's family well when in China; that he was no beggar or impostor. He was therefore kindly treated, and arrangements were at once made to send him back to his native country.

I remember being told a story of one of the previous Chinese ministers having on a visit to this country been much struck with the beautiful appearance of English lawns, and on being told, in answer to his inquiry, that they were raised from grass seed, he took back with him to China some sacks of the seed, and having sent for a staff of Chinese labourers, he ordered them to be arranged in rows, each man being provided with a drill, with which he was instructed to make a hole in the ground just large and deep enough to admit of a seed, and then to cover it over with earth. In due course of time

the grass appeared, and, having been so carefully sown, the lawn had every appearance of being as smooth as a billiard table.

One day the *Chargé d’Affaires* of one of the foreign legations in London called upon me at the Foreign Office, and as I happened to be absent from my room at the time, he went into the adjoining room, known as the Reference Room or Manuscript Library, in which sat the sub-librarian, to whom this gentleman was also well known. Whilst they were conversing together Mr. Hammond entered the room, and seeing a foreign diplomat there he politely informed him that foreign ministers were not allowed in the Library, and he accordingly left. A few days afterwards the *Chargé d’Affaires* called upon me again at the office, notwithstanding this intimation, and as he was passing down the passage which led to my room he looked round, and saw to his dismay Mr. Hammond coming down it also not far behind him, and, being anxious to avoid him, he went into my messenger’s room, which was next to my own, and hastening to the window he looked out so that Mr. Hammond might not see his face. Mr. Hammond fortunately passed by without seeing him, and my friend the *Chargé d’Affaires* then thought that without calling upon me that day he would seek safety in flight, and look in upon me some other day; but on reaching the door with the object of making his escape he heard Mr. Hammond returning, whistling softly to himself, so he hurriedly hid himself behind the door until the sound of Mr. Hammond’s footsteps could no longer be heard. He then left the office

as quickly as he possibly could. On his telling me this second story, which he did in a most amusing manner, I told him that if he had been caught secreted behind the door of the messenger's room, where manuscript volumes belonging to the library were occasionally left temporarily—after he had been told officially that foreign ministers were not allowed to enter the Manuscript Library—serious consequences might have occurred! He evidently felt that he had committed an act of great indiscretion, and after this he never attempted to call upon me again at the Foreign Office.

This same foreign official was afterwards transferred to Brazil, and he told me a story of what happened to him on his return journey to England which may be worth repeating. He said, just as he was about to start on his journey, and was hurrying across a street at Rio, a friend stopped him and inquired the cause of his great haste, when he informed him that he was going to the insurance office to insure his baggage and effects; upon which his friend laughed and said, "What! insure in a 'Royal Mail' boat? Why, I have crossed over a dozen times at least, and I have never insured; now take my advice, my friend, don't waste your money on insurance." Unhappily, he took his friend's advice, and suffered in consequence. All went on well until the boat arrived at the mouth of the Tagus, when a collision took place and the vessel went to the bottom with all my friend's baggage and effects, including his wife's jewellery. To add to his misfortune, he told me he saw a sailor hastily enter his cabin just before the ship

went down and return with his hands full of sovereigns. The man was detected and pursued by other sailors up the rigging of the other ship to which the passengers of the sinking ship had been transferred, and my friend saw the thief throw the sovereigns into the sea in order to avoid being taken with the money on him. When my friend arrived in London, he assured me he had saved nothing but the clothes which he then had on his back.

Within a month after Mr. Hammond had retired from the Foreign Office an incident occurred which caused him no little pain at the time. He called one day at the office, and entering the Turkey Department he inquired of a young gentleman, whom he found writing at a desk, when the next Queen's Messenger would leave for Constantinople. It so happened that this youthful diplomatist had only been appointed a few days, and feeling the position of "awful responsibility" in which he was placed, he simply gazed at Mr. Hammond and replied, "I don't know whether I am justified in telling you. Who are you?" This was a cruel blow to the distinguished old official. He left the room without saying another word, and hurrying into my room he asked me if I could have believed it possible that before he had left the office one month, some junior clerk should have asked him to his face, 'Who are you?'

This story reminds me of another little incident which occurred when another high official retired. When he had made up his mind to retire he came into my room to announce the fact, remarking that a man should always retire when he was at the zenith

of his power. It will not, I hope, be thought unkind on my part to state that he gave me to understand that he felt that the office could not well do without him ; but when the letter to the Treasury was drafted, asking for his pension, and recounting all his past meritorious services, his feelings were much hurt on perusing it. He came into my room again and condemned it as being only such a letter as would have been written to the Treasury had the object of it been a third-class clerk in the office. He thereupon asked me to help him in the matter, and at my request the Chief Clerk kindly proceeded at once to Mr. Hammond, who, on hearing what Mr. ——— thought of his draft (for Mr. Hammond had written it with the kindest intention), observed, "Oh, I thought it was a very good draft, for I want to do all I can to please him! If he does not like what I have written ask him to write anything he likes and I will sign it." On being told this Mr. ——— said it was only adding insult to what he considered an injury, adding that "the office" might write what it liked. The letter was, however, improved ; and a short time after he had retired he paid me another visit, and his first remark was, "Well, and how does the office get on without me?" To which I could only reply, "Oh, pretty well." He then asked whether the clerks in the office had not been to me to express the regret and loss which they felt at his retirement. This was an awkward question, for no one had expressed any such sentiments to me, and I was reluctantly compelled to tell him so, but I could see that he felt it most deeply.

CHAPTER VII

FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIALS

AT the time when I entered the Foreign Office, in 1840, the following retired clerks were still living—their names appearing in the Pension List for that year:—

	Age.	Service in Years.	Official Allowance.	Date of Retirement.
			£ s.	
Richard Ancell (Librarian).	55 ...	33 ...	200 0 ...	Jan. 5, 1810
John Jackson (Clerk).	50 ...	31 ...	520 0 ...	July 5, 1830
Edward Scheener (Clerk)	41 ...	20 ...	272 10 ...	July 5, 1830
George Lowth (Clerk)	30 ...	12 ...	78 0 ...	April 5, 1838
Hon. F. Byng (Senior Clerk)	55 ...	40 ...	827 10 ...	April 5, 1839

Mr. Richard Ancell, my father's predecessor as Librarian, etc., at the Foreign Office, was appointed in 1777, and held the appointment for thirty-three years.

Mr. Lowth's pension was a "record" one. He was appointed a clerk in the Foreign Office on January 5, 1826, and retired on April 5, 1838, on account of ill health, at the early age of thirty, after only twelve years' service, on a "superannuation" allowance—so called—of £78 a year. This pension he lived to enjoy for the unprecedentedly long period of nearly fifty-six years, as he was in the receipt of it till the time of his death, on December 31, 1893.

The Hon. Gerald Frederick Byng was appointed

a Page of Honour to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in 1791. He was a lieutenant in the Army, and was for some time in the War Office before being appointed a clerk in the Foreign Office, January 5, 1801. In 1803 he was appointed an Ensign in the St. George's Volunteer Infantry, and was present with the regiment when it was reviewed by H.M. King George III. in that year. He retired on a superannuation allowance, November 5, 1839, after forty years' public service, including his service in the Army.

On May 24, 1824, he was appointed to attend upon the King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands during their visit to England in May, June, and July of that year. They both died in London, from an attack of measles—the Queen on the 8th and the King on the 14th July. Their bodies, after being embalmed in accordance with the custom of the Sandwich Islands, were conveyed back to Owyhee (Hawaii).¹

I remember my father telling me that when Mr. Byng was in attendance upon their Majesties, they presented him with a wonderful pair of breeches made entirely of feathers, and that as soon as this became known a caricature appeared in the window of a well-known shop in St. James's Street, in which Mr. Byng was depicted sitting in his feather breeches upon a nest of eggs, as if trying to hatch them. This naturally gave him great annoyance, and it was not long before he caused this offensive cartoon to be removed from the public gaze.

¹ *Annual Register*, 1824, pp. 61 and 102.

On March 28, 1831, Mr. Byng was appointed one of the Gentlemen Ushers to the Privy Council. In 1859 he joined the ranks of the Queen's (Westminster) Rifle Volunteers, and was present when the regiment was reviewed by Her late Majesty on June 23, 1860. He often related, with pride, the fact of his having been reviewed as a volunteer by King George III. in 1803, and by Queen Victoria in 1860.

Mr. Byng was for many years a conspicuous figure in London society, and as he was generally accompanied in his walks by a black French poodle dog, he went by the name of "Poodle Byng." He retired on November 5, 1859, and died on June 5, 1871.

Four generations of Bidwells have held appointments under the Foreign Office, their services extending, in the aggregate, over 158 years.

1. Mr. Thomas Bidwell (many years Chief Clerk), 1767-1817, fifty years' service. Died September 28, 1817.

2. Mr. Thomas Bidwell (also many years Chief Clerk), 1790-1841, fifty and a half years' service. Died May 1, 1852.

3. Mr. John Bidwell, 1798-1851, fifty-three years' service. Died October 31, 1853.

4. Mr. John Bidwell, junior, 1842-72, thirty years' service. Died August 22, 1873.

On the occasion of the death (in 1817) of the first Thomas Bidwell, an article appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which it was stated that, besides his official appointment in the Foreign Office, he held, for many years, the office of

Superintendent of St. James's and Hyde Parks, and that it was under his active superintendence that this part of the Crown domains received the improvement in planting, which, it was added, would, in due time, essentially contribute to the embellishment of the Metropolis. What then, it may be asked, would not have been Mr. Bidwell's delight and admiration, had he lived to see the beautiful flower-beds and shrubs in Hyde Park and the other parks, which now adorn the Metropolis?

John Bidwell, senior, of the Foreign Office, used to be fond, I am told, of relating the story of how he was robbed by two soldiers one night when crossing Hyde Park, after dining with his uncle, Thomas Bidwell, at the Ranger's Lodge; but I am afraid matters have not greatly improved since then, and that the dangers attending the crossing of Hyde Park at night are as great now as they were more than a century ago. He was a nephew of the first Thomas Bidwell above mentioned, and was also Deputy Ranger of Hyde Park. He accompanied Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Adair on his special mission to Constantinople, in July, 1808, and remained in the East till 1811. In April, 1813, he was selected to accompany Lieut.-General Sir Charles Stewart (afterwards Marquess of Londonderry) on his mission to the King of Prussia, and he accompanied him on his visits to the headquarters of the Allied Armies at various places on the Continent. He was for many years Superintendent in the Consular Department of the Foreign Office.

John Bidwell, junior—son of the above-named John Bidwell—"Young John," as he was called,

was appointed to a clerkship in the Foreign Office in 1842. Was attached to the Legation at Washington in 1845-6. Was précis writer to the Earl of Malmesbury, when Foreign Secretary in 1852; and private secretary to his lordship, when Foreign Secretary in 1858-9. He was attached to the Earl of Clarendon's special mission to Paris in 1856; accompanied his lordship to Potsdam in August, 1858, when in attendance upon Her late Majesty; and was promoted to be a senior clerk, April 1, 1859.

He was a tall, thin man, but very active. In private life he was a most welcome guest in society, and was particularly fond of taking part in theatrical performances, his great forte being the performance of the part of harlequin, which he executed admirably. On one occasion he, with others, hired the Lyceum Theatre for a private theatrical performance, and the jumps which he made, one being through the face of a clock, could not have been better performed by a professional. Sir Francis Alston has told me that he was present on the occasion, and was witness to the complete success which attended his performances. He died on August 22, 1873, aged forty-eight, and was buried in Brompton Cemetery.

Mr. George Lenox-Conyngham was a supernumerary clerk in the Foreign Office from July 5, 1812, till July 5, 1817, when he was appointed to a clerkship; he was précis writer to Viscount Castlereagh, from January 5, 1817, till July 5, 1819; he succeeded to a senior clerkship May 16, 1834, and had the superintendence of the China Department

for many years; he was appointed Chief Clerk, April 5, 1841.

When a young man, Mr. Conyngham met with a severe gun accident. He had just got on to the outside of the Cambridge coach, at the Golden Cross Hotel, Charing Cross, intending to go into the country for a day's shooting, when his gun, which had been loaded and was carelessly left resting against his leg, went off, and the charge entered the upper part of the thigh of his left leg. He was at once removed from off the coach into the hotel, where his leg was amputated near the hip joint. Some days later the surgeons discovered that it had not been cut off quite high enough, and Mr. Conyngham submitted, with wonderful courage, to having another slice taken off, and as this was before the days of anæsthetics, his sufferings must have been very great indeed, considering that he was a very tall, stout, and heavy man. He was very seldom seen with an artificial leg. When in the office, he used to walk, or rather hop, about with a crutch under his left arm and a walking-stick in his right hand. When the weather was changeable and heavy rains were expected, his sufferings were intense, and I have seen him cry like a child with the pain. At such times he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to alleviate the suffering; but as soon as the rain actually fell, the intense pain ceased.

One day a Quaker called upon him at the Foreign Office, to make some inquiry. It was probably on one of his bad days; and when suffering, he was not very particular as to the language which he used,

even to strangers. After some little conversation had passed between them, the Quaker put the finger of his right hand up, reproachfully, and addressing Mr. Conyngham, said, "Thou hast taken the Name of the Lord in vain thrice"; and he then handed him a little tract, headed, "The Swearer's Oath." Mr. Conyngham was not at all offended at this, but calmly rang his bell, and when the office messenger arrived, he said, "Take this paper down to the bookbinder and tell him to mount it on a piece of cardboard for me." He then told the Quaker that he would put it on his mantelpiece, as a caution to his friends when they visited him, not to swear.

He always signed his name thus: "G. Lenox-C."

He died on November 26, 1866.

Mr. Lewis Hertslet¹ was appointed Sub-Librarian in the Foreign Office on February 5, 1801, and "Librarian and Keeper of the Papers," in January, 1810. On the departure of King George IV. for Hanover, in 1821, he acted as one of the Secretaries to the Lords Justices in England during the King's absence.

On June 30, 1824, he was appointed, in addition to the office which he held as Librarian and Keeper of the Archives of the Foreign Office, "Superintendent of King's Messengers and Controller of the Accounts for the Three Secretaries of States Offices" (Home, Foreign, and Colonial), with an additional salary of £450 a year, which raised his income to £1,250 a year. This additional post he held for thirty years.

¹ There have been four generations of the Hertslet family in the Foreign Office since 1795.

In 1825, he originated, compiled, and edited, during his leisure hours at home, a work, now universally well known and appreciated, entitled *British and Foreign State Papers*. The object of the work was to collect together, in a convenient form, the principal *Treaties between foreign Powers*, and documents, which had been made public, relating to the political and commercial affairs of nations, and to their relations with each other, from the termination of the war in 1815 to the latest period. The work was originally printed exclusively for the use of H.M.'s Government and H.M.'s Diplomatic Agents abroad, but the general interest which was attached to the collection, after the issue of the first few volumes, led to its being published and placed on sale.

As the work was published "for the use of H.M.'s Government," it was simply stated on the title-page of each volume that it was "Compiled by the Librarian and Keeper of the Papers of the Foreign Office," the name of Lewis Hertslet never appeared, and although it was pretty generally known, in official circles, who the compiler was, still the fact of his name not being given, operated greatly to his disadvantage, inasmuch as his name did not appear in the catalogues of many important public libraries, as the author of this admittedly most useful and valuable publication.

About the same time Lewis Hertslet further undertook, with official sanction, also during his leisure hours at home, another work on treaties, to which he gave the title of *Hertslet's Commercial*

and Slave Trade Treaties. His object, as stated on the title-page, was to give, in a collected form, "All the Treaties and Conventions and Reciprocal Regulations, actually existing, between *Great Britain and Foreign Powers*, as well as the Laws and Orders in Council concerning the same, so far as they related to Commerce and Navigation, to the Repression and Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to the Privileges and Interests of the Subjects of the High Contracting Parties."

No such complete work of the kind had ever been published before, and the value of the collection will at once be seen, when it is pointed out that in the first two volumes were copies of or extracts from all the old treaties which had been concluded between Great Britain and foreign Powers, which conferred commercial or other benefits on this country, and which were specially renewed or were actually in force at the termination of the French Revolutionary War in 1815. This was a herculean task, and one of no little responsibility, which could only have been undertaken by one who was thoroughly master of the subject; and to his great credit, be it said, the accuracy of the opinions which he formed on treaty questions has never been controverted, either in this country or abroad. The work is supplied officially to H.M.'s Embassies, Missions, and Consulates abroad, and (through the Admiralty) to H.M.'s principal ships of war. The great labour and ability which he displayed in the compilation of these two important works, notwithstanding the many arduous and important duties which devolved upon him during office hours in his

position of Librarian and Keeper of the Archives of the Foreign Office, have been universally recognised. The *Times*, in recording his death, which took place on March 15, 1870, said that these two works "would ever remain a lasting monument of his intelligence and industry."

Of the *State Papers*, thirty-seven volumes, and of *Hertslet's Treaties*, eleven volumes, had been issued during his lifetime. After his death, in 1870, both works were continued by me until my retirement from the Foreign Office in 1896. They are now continued by the Foreign Office.

In consequence of this deep research into treaties, Lewis Hertslet soon became the standing authority on all subjects involving international, historical, or geographical points which affected British interests, and the numerous reports which he prepared from time to time for successive Secretaries of State are carefully preserved in the archives of the Foreign Office, and fully indexed, where they will be available for future reference for a long time to come. So valuable were his reports considered, that he was dubbed by one Secretary of State as the "Walking State Paper."

Another work of great utility compiled by my father, but solely for the use of the Foreign Office, consisted of documents and important facts extracted from trustworthy British and foreign journals, which were pasted by the bookbinder on large folio pages. These, after being bound, were carefully indexed, with the dates, country, and subject put against each extract, showing where it was taken from. The series commenced in 1796,

and was carried on till 1873, when it was discontinued ; but the earlier volumes, especially, supplied a new and abundant source of useful information for the Foreign Office and the members of Her Majesty's Government at a time when such documents and facts were not made so generally public as they are now. It was called the *Public Document Book*, and forms no less than seventy-eight folio volumes on the shelves of the Foreign Office Printed Library.

On March 30, 1873, an old Foreign Office official retired from the service, much to the regret of his many friends and colleagues, and a card, in the shape of a funeral tablet, was placed upon the mantelpiece of his old room, with the following inscription on it :—

In Memory of

who departed this Official Life on the
30 March, 1873.

Scrupulous in the avoidance of every duty, he gracefully escaped the obligations of this transitory life. Regarding virtue as a thing beyond price, he was careful not to degrade it by practice. His mind was a storehouse of knowledge of which he had lost the key ; and in finally paying the debt of nature, he left to his sorrowing friends the consolation of meeting his other liabilities.

PAX NOBIS !

So far from his taking offence at this little joke he expressed himself highly amused at it, and the

last I heard of it was that it stood upon one of the mantelpieces in his own private house.

I cannot refrain from now telling a story about my old friend A. S. G.

He and I, besides being official friends in the same department in the office (the Library), had been private friends for many years. His father was a retired Admiral, and he had brothers, the elder one being, at the time of which I write (1854), a major in the Royal Artillery, stationed at Woolwich. War was expected to be declared between this country and Russia, and A. S. G. suggested to me that we should go down to Woolwich together and inspect the Arsenal. We had no order of admission, but he undertook to arrange matters if I would only consent to follow his directions implicitly, which I promised to do, and we therefore went down by rail to some place immediately opposite the Arsenal on the other side of the river, and on arriving there we went down to the river side. Here A. S. G. called a boatman and told him to row us across to the Garrison steps. The man inquired, "Are you gentlemen officers of the garrison?" to which A. S. G. coolly replied, much to my astonishment, "Yes." The boatman touched his cap and on board his boat we went.

On reaching the Arsenal steps, we saw a sentry posted at the top, and I must confess I did not quite relish our little exploit, but having promised to obey my friend's orders, I asked no questions, but followed him. We landed, paid our fare, and on reaching the top step the sentinel saluted us ;

we returned his salute and walked on into the Arsenal yard.

On arriving at the first shed we saw three or four gentlemen being conducted round the Arsenal, and their guide was explaining to them the mechanism of a newly invented ambulance wagon. We joined the party at a short distance, and listened with interest to the explanation which was being given, but on looking up we saw to our dismay that one of these gentlemen was H.R.H. the Prince Consort, another H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, and the third Mr. Delane, the editor of the *Times*. They all looked at us, but said nothing, nor did we say anything. After a short time we left the royal party, and at A. S. G.'s suggestion we proceeded to another part of the Arsenal, to inspect the Gun Cap manufactory, but were somewhat taken aback by the sentry slapping his musket and saying that his orders were not to allow any officers to pass into that part of the Arsenal unless they were in uniform, for which piece of interesting information we thanked him, and, turning round pretty sharply, went elsewhere, feeling rather small. We then entered a room in which a man was explaining to the royal party the new mode which had then been but recently adopted of cutting bullets out of solid pieces of lead. It was most interesting, and if I remember rightly, he said that these machines could each turn out 100,000 bullets a day. Before this invention, I was told, all bullets were cast in moulds.

After this we left the Arsenal by the main entrance, and proceeded to the messroom at the

Royal Artillery, when my friend A. S. G. asked for his brother the major, and when he appeared he was told that we should be glad of a little lunch, as it was luncheon time, and in a few minutes we sat down at a table together, Mr. Delane, a great friend of the G—— family, joining the party. We were no sooner seated than A. S. G. told his brother what we had been doing and how we had gained admittance into the Arsenal without an order, at which he expressed his utter astonishment and surprise at our impudence, and declared that if he had found us there and had known how we got there, he would have at once put us under arrest! I remember asking Mr. Delane if he had not been astonished at the way in which bullets were cut out of the solid lead, adding that I should have liked to bring away one of them as a souvenir, but that I did not like to prig one out of the basket, lest the man in charge should have to account for the exact number made, to which he replied, "Oh, I wasn't so thin-skinned; I bagged several," and he presented me with one, which I kept for a long time, but lost it at last.

The visit was, no doubt, a very indiscreet one on our part, to use the mildest term, but I think it was perhaps more reprehensible on the part of the military authorities to have allowed it to be possible for utter strangers to visit the Arsenal, especially on the eve of the outbreak of a war, without a written permit or even a verbal password!

I will now relate another little anecdote connected with my friend A. S. G. On one occasion he and one of his colleagues in the

Library of the Foreign Office, when walking one day up Downing Street together, observed a small crowd of respectably dressed men entering the Education Office, and it was suggested by A. S. G. that they should join what they not unnaturally concluded to be a deputation, as they had never been present at one before, and the proposal having been agreed to they entered with the other gentlemen, and were all shown into a large waiting-room. After waiting there a short time the door opened, and an office keeper entered and beckoned to two of the gentlemen to follow him, which they did. After the lapse of a few minutes the same individual re-entered the room and beckoned to two others to follow him, and they also left. A. S. G. and his companion being somewhat puzzled to know what this all meant, ventured to inquire of one of the gentlemen in the room what was the object of the deputation; to which question he smilingly replied, "Deputation, sir? this is not a deputation; we are candidates for the appointment of schoolmaster, and we are all waiting to be examined in turn." It can easily be imagined how quickly these two intruders decamped, thanking their lucky stars that they were not the first two to be called out of the room together for the purpose of being examined as schoolmasters.

Speaking of deputations, I may relate a singular mistake which occurred, many years ago, in the office. The Secretary of State was asked, I was told, by a certain society to receive a deputation from their body respecting the safety of their agents and their wives and families in a foreign country,

which was then in a very disturbed state. The Secretary of State was unable himself to receive the deputation, but they were told that the Under Secretary of State would be happy to do so on a day which was named. When the day arrived a certain number of gentlemen came to the Foreign Office, and the office keeper, not having been informed of their expected arrival, was in a difficulty to know what to do with them, so he went to the senior clerk of the department having charge of the affairs of that particular country and asked him what should be done with the deputation. The clerk in question, who was also ignorant of any appointment having been made, and was therefore as much puzzled as the office keeper to know what to do with them, replied, "Oh, show them in; I'll see them!" and they were ushered into his room. He commenced by asking them whether they were married, of how many their family consisted, and so forth, and after he had assured them that they might rely upon H.M.'s Government doing all in their power to protect their relatives, they thanked him and retired. After they had gone, the Under Secretary rang his bell and on the office keeper appearing he asked him if the deputation had not arrived, as it was much past the hour appointed for the reception. "Oh, yes, sir!" replied the office keeper, "they have been here and are gone." "Gone!" exclaimed the Under Secretary. "Who saw them?" he inquired. "Mr. —, sir," was the reply. "Ask him to come to me," said the Under Secretary, and Mr. — went to him. On his entering the room the Under

Secretary inquired if it was true that he had received the deputation from the missionary society. "Yes," he replied, "I saw some gentlemen; I knew nothing about a deputation coming, or the object of their visit." "What did you say to them?" was the next question, to which Mr. — answered, "I really don't remember. I asked certain commonplace questions about their wives and families, and told them that H.M.'s Government would do all in their power to protect them; with which they seemed perfectly satisfied, and departed"; and here the matter fortunately ended.

When the Emperor Napoleon III. held the celebrated "Feast of Eagles" at Paris, in 1852, many British officers were invited to take part in it.¹ Two of them, who had greatly distinguished themselves in India, were in England at the time, and they at once accepted the invitation. They were brothers of my friend A. S. G., already alluded to, and at their request he agreed to accompany them to Paris. On their arrival they proceeded to the Tuileries, where they all three left their cards, my friend A. S. G. out of pure politeness; but early next morning, before he was out of bed, a rap was heard at his bedroom door, and on his saying "Entrez," a gendarme entered and, making a pro-

¹ Extract from *Histoire du Second Empire*, by Pierre de la Gorce, published in 1895 by MM. C. Plon, Nourrit, and Cie, Paris:—

"La Dictature état Social en 1852. Au mois de Mai, des Aigles ayant été distribuées aux Régiments, cette cérémonie devint le signal d'une véritable explosion de réjouissances. Les portes des Tuileries s'ouvrirent pour un grand bal où près de cinq mille personnes défilèrent sous les yeux du Président."

found salute, presented my friend A. S. G. with a huge pantomimic envelope which, on opening it, he found to contain an invitation from the Emperor for him to attend the "Feast of Eagles." What was to be done? He was not a British officer and had no uniform to appear in! However, after consulting with his brothers, it was arranged that they should all three go together; so, when the evening arrived, they presented themselves at the Tuileries. A theatre had been erected for the occasion in which all the élite of Paris and the foreign naval and military officers appeared in full uniform. The master of the ceremonies read out aloud the class of visitors in the order arranged for them to enter the theatre. After a list of grand personages had been given out, the master of ceremonies called out, "Messieurs les généraux"; then "Messieurs les amiraux"; and then "Messieurs les officiers anglais," when my three friends stepped forward. The master of the ceremonies, on observing that A. S. G. was out of uniform, inquired politely, "Votre uniforme, monsieur?" and A. S. G. replied that he had forgotten it, but was nevertheless allowed to pass. When the company were all assembled this "distinguished Englishman" was at once noticed, especially by the British Ambassador, to whom he was unknown, and by all the party in His Excellency's box, but no observation was made, nor was any further notice taken of the incident.

But, jocular and somewhat indiscreet as I have shown A. S. G. to have been, he did his work at the Foreign Office exceedingly well, and at his

death, on October 7, 1875, the following minute was issued by the Secretary of State :—

“ Lord Derby has heard with great regret of the death of Mr. A. S. G., whose attention to his duties and ability in the discharge of them are well known, and will cause his loss to be severely felt in the Office.

“ D. Oct. 8/75.”

CHAPTER VIII

KING'S (QUEEN'S) MESSENGERS

IT was during Lord Malmesbury's second term of office that a great change was made in rewarding the services rendered by the Queen's Foreign Service Messengers.

A great deal of interesting matter, beyond that which has already been made public in various ways with regard to the present corps, might be furnished with regard to the old corps of King's Messengers; the arduous and dangerous duties which they were frequently called upon to perform, especially before the introduction of railways or steamboats; the great confidence which had invariably been placed in them by H.M.'s Government; the many instances in which they lost their lives by shipwreck, or were murdered; the innumerable cases in which they suffered bodily injury by being thrown from their horses or carriages; their sufferings from frost-bite, exposure, and so forth; but it would occupy far too great a space to give even a superficial account of the corps in this book. But some of the dangers and hardships which they endured can be well understood by the relation of the few following facts.

In September, 1797, two messengers (Brooks and Magistri) were drowned off Calais in attempting to land at night, in an open boat, from the *Diana* packet.

The boat was upset by the violence of the surf. The despatches of which Brooks was the bearer, and which were afterwards recovered, were intended for Lord Malmesbury (afterwards created 1st Earl of Malmesbury), who was carrying on negotiations with the French authorities at Lille. In his *Memoirs* Lord Malmesbury alludes to the fact that, at this time, his letters were conveyed to him by another messenger (Hertslet¹), who met him at St. Omer after his departure from Lille, the conferences there having just been broken up.²

In the same year (1797) another messenger (Flint) was killed by a carriage accident near Augsburg, on a return journey from Naples.

In 1807 another (Sparrow) was stabbed by boatmen, who were conveying him along the coast of Sicily, and it was believed that he fell a sacrifice to a most heroic defence of his despatches, which led to a commission in the Army being given to his son by H.R.H. the Duke of York.

In 1815 another (Lyell) was murdered at Madrid; and in the same year another messenger (Shaw) had both his feet amputated owing to their having been severely frost-bitten; and he did not long survive the shock.

In 1820 another (Brown) died at St. Petersburg from fatigue and the effects of accidents, after a continuous journey of twenty-three days and nights.

In 1823 another (Bettles) died in consequence of a severe winter in Russia, and the hardships en-

¹ Louis Hertslet, my grandfather, who was a King's Messenger from 1795 till 1802.

² *Vide Times*, September 15, 16, 17, 1797, and *Diary of the Earl of Malmesbury*, vol. iii. p. 577.

dured on the return journey from St. Petersburg in a ship of war.

In 1827 another (Dykes) died from injuries sustained by a fall from his horse between Calais and Paris.

In 1833 another (Latchford) died from an attack of Asiatic cholera, brought on by over-fatigue after a journey of thirteen days and nights to St. Petersburg.

In 1836 another (Smith) was drowned at Falmouth, and no doubt many other cases could be mentioned.

There are also numerous instances on record, especially between 1815 and 1834, of messengers having been compelled to cross over from Dover to Calais in an open boat, when the sea was so rough that the captain of the packet could not be induced to risk the passage. The boatmen would appear to have been paid sums varying from £3 5s. to £25 for their services, but on several occasions their boats were dashed to pieces on reaching Calais, when the loss had to be made good by the messengers on behalf of H.M.'s Government. In 1840 a messenger (Barnard) had to pay £35 to a boatman for the loss of his boat, which shows pretty clearly that the boat, in which he had had to cross in the gale, was not a very large or seaworthy one.

During the French Revolutionary War, when the sea passage to Calais was impracticable, the messengers had to reach the Continent by way of Great Yarmouth and Cuxhaven, a sea passage which, in ordinary times, occupied a few days only, but in winter, or tempestuous weather, many weeks.

For instance, one messenger (Hertslet) on a return journey from St. Petersburg to London in 1799 was detained at Cuxhaven for twenty-eight days, owing to the large quantities of ice afloat; he was then seven days in making the passage, or thirty-five days in all in passing from Cuxhaven to Great Yarmouth. Another (Dickenson) was detained at Cuxhaven in the same year for thirty days; and another (Ruffe) for thirty-two days.

On the above journey, the messenger Hertslet was travelling for over four consecutive months, and was in his saddle for fifty-two days, off and on.

The messengers at that time travelled either on horseback or in their own carriages; but it frequently happened that, owing to the badness of the roads, which were often mere tracks, they had to be conveyed in small carts of the country, oxen being employed where they could do the work better than horses; and peasants, provided with lanterns, being procured to lend assistance when the roads were obliterated by heavy falls of snow, or by floods and mud.

There are also numerous instances on record of the messengers having been stopped and robbed, not only abroad, but even in England on their way to the Continent.

They were frequently entrusted with matters of the greatest importance, and statesmen have invariably borne testimony to the fact that they discharged their duties most zealously, efficiently, and faithfully.

When I first entered the office (in 1840), I remember seeing the messengers' carriages standing,

with four horses attached, at the office door, ready to convey the messengers, in uniform, to Dover, the railway not having then been completed.

The badge was formerly worn on the messenger's breast, affixed to his coat, not suspended by a ribbon, according to more recent regulations.

These badges were frequently lost or stolen; for instance, between the years 1732 and 1759, no less than twelve messengers either lost the badge entirely, or the silver greyhound appended to it, or had the crystal (which protected the royal arms painted on the centre of the badge) broken by their having been thrown from their horses.

The badge which was thus worn by J. P. Louis Hertslet, King's Messenger during the reign of King George III., is still in my possession.

Each Foreign Messenger was paid a small salary of £60 a year, with an allowance for "board wages" of 6s. 8d. a day when in England, and 13s. 4d. a day when abroad, with a mileage profit on journeys performed which varied according to the mode of travelling adopted, whether on horseback or by carriage; but when the railway system was introduced, and as it became more developed, their duties became less arduous, and these charges were accordingly altered from time to time. When Lord Malmesbury became Foreign Secretary he decided (November 4, 1858) to abolish this antiquated system of remuneration and to give each messenger a fixed annual salary of £500, without any other emoluments whatever; their actual travelling expenses being paid by the Government. It was admitted by his lordship that the average salary

and emoluments received by each messenger during the preceding three years was £800, some having received a great deal more and some less, but £800 was considered by him to be out of all proportion to the services performed. This material change produced great discontent among the members of the corps, who pointed out to his lordship that, considering the immense distance which each messenger travelled annually, "the perils which they had often to encounter; the constant exposure in all climates and seasons, the greater part of nine months in the year, continually out of their beds during winter nights in Russia, and in the heat of the East, sometimes travelling in open sledges, on horseback, in steamboats or on railways; the wear and tear of constitution consequent on such severe trials; and also bearing in mind the heavy expenses to which they were subjected at hotels on the Continent," £500 salary alone was quite inadequate, unless accompanied by an additional allowance for expenses while engaged on duty abroad. Their salary was, in consequence of this remonstrance, increased to £525 a year, but the increase "from pounds to guineas," as they were pleased to call the change, was still deemed insufficient by the messengers; and the question was subsequently considered by a Committee of the House of Commons sitting on the Diplomatic Service,¹ when Lieut.-Col. Townley, who had been one of the corps for seventeen years, attended and gave evidence, after Lord Malmesbury had been examined and given his. Lieut.-Col.

¹ House of Commons paper, No. 459, 1861.

Townley said, "I have always looked upon the change that was made as an unjust measure carried out in a very harsh manner; men entered the service when the appointment was notoriously worth £800 or £900 a year, insured their lives in the belief that no change would be made, and were now in distress" (June 6, 1861); whereupon Lord Malmesbury, by permission of the House of Lords, applied to be examined again before the committee, when he denied that the corps of Queen's Foreign Service Messengers had been "harshly" or "unjustly" treated (June 24, 1861), and entered into further explanations as to what had led to the change being made.

On their continued remonstrances being considered by Lord John Russell, who in June, 1859, had succeeded Lord Malmesbury at the Foreign Office, the salary assigned to each messenger was fixed (June 8, 1861) at £400 a year, with an additional allowance of £1 a day while employed on foreign service, which was deemed a more satisfactory arrangement and settled the question. The salary has, however, again been altered in recent years, and at the present moment there are four Foreign Service Messengers with salaries fixed at £400 a year each, and five at £250, with an additional allowance of £1 a day when employed abroad; their actual travelling expenses being paid by H.M.'s Government.

CHAPTER IX

SALARIES, FEES, AND PERQUISITES

HER Majesty's Government was much more liberal in the first half of the nineteenth century than at its close, as the Treasury was not nearly so powerful as it is now. Each Secretary of State's office possessed a "Contingent Fund," which was a fine institution, for out of it a Secretary of State could make any small payment he pleased without the interference of the Treasury; but, alas! it has long ceased to exist, and no payment, however small, can now be made without Treasury sanction having been first obtained. In those "good old times" a roll of bread, round in shape and slightly sweetened, and a decanter of water was placed in each room every morning by the housekeeper, for which no payment was demanded or made, as the rolls were supplied by the generosity of H.M.'s Government. This was generally called the "Prison Allowance."

Some years later, a biscuit was substituted for the small roll, and I have seen mice enjoying a hearty meal off these rations when the office was in full work.

Then again, at Christmas-time, nearly every clerk in the office received a small, double-bladed pen-

knife in a neat little red leather case ; and should a demand for a pencil be made, a packet containing a dozen, or at least half a dozen "H.B.'s" was at once supplied by the head office-keeper. Post Office Directories, and handsomely bound octavo volumes with gilt edges, containing a collection of Almanacs, were also freely given to all those who were high enough up in the office to be entitled by their position to receive them. I have in my possession several of these almanacs, which formerly belonged to my father.

But, alas ! all these little marks of delicate attention on the part of H.M.'s Government have long since been discontinued, and nothing now remains in the shape of a gratuitous offering to remind one of those bygone days but the bottle of water, which is still supplied to each room daily, and gratuitously !

Before 1840, official Envelopes had not been invented, although stamped postage covers for ordinary letters came into use on May 6 of that year ; after the establishment, on January 10 preceding, of a uniform penny postage. All official letters to be sent by post or by hand, had to be inserted in a cover, carefully folded for the purpose, so as to form an envelope ; and as the use of gum had not then been thought of for such a purpose, every letter had either to be closed with a wafer, which had to be pressed down by a stamp, or carefully sealed with red sealing-wax (unless the Court was in mourning, when black was used).

The seal used was the coat-of-arms of the Secretary of State then in office, which was engraved on steel ; but this practice has been dis-

continued for many years, the Royal Arms being now invariably used, superscribed on the larger ones with the words "Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs," and on the smaller ones, "Foreign Office."

If several letters had to be inserted in a long cover, the outer cover inclosing them was fastened down with two seals, one at each end. The addresses on all letters had to be written by hand, as printing was then never used for such a purpose, and the time thus wasted can scarcely be credited, although the Foreign Office Agency system, which then existed, was a great saving of trouble to the office in this respect. The following is a specimen of the address which had to be written on every letter sent to H.M.'s consuls abroad :—

ON HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SERVICE.

To

William Hamilton, Esquire,
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul,
Boulogne s/m.

Care of G. S. Marshall, Esquire,
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul,
Calais.

Care of the Agent of Her Majesty's Packets,
Dover.

Foreign Office.

(With date of Transmission.)

This precious document, which had the Secretary of State's name signed by deputy upon it, and which frequently contained nothing more important

than private letters, was then sealed with one or two seals, according to its size, and committed to the post. The consumption of sealing-wax was, in consequence, immense.

It should, however, be remembered that I am now speaking of a time when soldiers wore tail coats, officers gold epaulettes, policemen chimney-pot hats, and before the general construction of railways.

The Salaries paid to officials in former days were small. The actual salary of a Secretary of State was much smaller then than it is now. The salary of the Earl of Rochford, for instance, in 1770, was but £3,000 a year; that of the Under Secretary £500; and of the nine clerks in his office £100 each; but the "perquisites" added to the salaries of the Secretaries of State at that period made each of them worth £7,000 a year, and as the under secretaries and clerks each received their perquisites their salaries were proportionately increased thereby.

The ancient system in most, if not in all, of the public offices was to appoint officers either without salaries, or with a salary inadequate to the value of their services, leaving them to pay themselves by the receipt of fees from the parties for whom those services were performed; but in 1785 an Act of Parliament was passed (25 Geo. III. c. 19), under which Commissioners were appointed to inquire—among other things—into fees, perquisites, and emoluments received at the public offices; and in their report they advised the payment of the different establishments by fixed salaries, and the

abolition of this ancient system ; all officers who received fees being placed under the obligation of accounting for them to a fund from which the expenses of the respective departments were partly defrayed.

In November, 1836, a Treasury Committee was appointed to look into these matters, and the following was—briefly stated—the result of that inquiry, so far as the Foreign Office was concerned.¹

It was found that the following fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments were formerly received from the public by the Chief Clerk of the Foreign Office, through the Treasury, to be applied to the Fee Fund for the payment of the former establishment :—

	£	s.	d.
On the appointment of an Ambassador	88	10	0
„ „ of an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary	60	9	6
and of a Minister Plenipotentiary, a Secretary of Embassy, or a Secretary of Legation . . . each	33	12	0

But the fees upon the appointment of ambassadors and other members of the Diplomatic Service had not always been paid by the public.

About the year 1816, in consequence of some communication as to the burden of these fees upon the parties appointed as ambassadors, or connected with legations, directions were given for these fees to be borne by the public, and this practice continued until the year 1834, when they ceased to be paid by the public, and they have now been discontinued altogether.

¹ First Report, Treasury Committee on Fees and Emoluments of Public Offices, laid before the House of Commons, 1837, Paper 192.

The Treasury inquiry further brought to light the fact that for each letter signed by the Secretary of State, for the issue of extraordinary expenses, salaries, and outfits, a fee was paid of £2 2s. 6d., and that for each letter to the Treasury for determination of allowances, signed by the Secretary of State, a fee was paid of £2 2s. 6d.

The following fees were paid by the individuals themselves :—

	£	s.	d.
On appointment of a Consul	12	15	0
For each letter to the Treasury, signed by the Secretary of State, for the salaries of Consuls	2	2	6

The fees on letters to the Treasury were abolished in March, 1836.

For warrants of approbation of foreign consuls in British ports, otherwise called "Exequaturs," signed by the King, and countersigned by the Secretary of State, the fee charged was £7 13s. 6d. But these fees on "Exequaturs" were also abolished in March, 1836, upon the ground that British consuls in foreign ports were not subjected to any such charges. For each Passport signed by the Secretary of State the fee charged was £2 2s. 6d. The fee now charged is two shillings. It was also shown, from a return which was produced, that the following total amounts were received under these headings :—In 1833, £1,560 19s.; in 1834, £2,208 19s. 6d.; in 1835, £1,545.

It was stated before this committee that the period when these fees, etc., were first demanded and collected was not known; that no Act of Parliament could be cited, or any other authority quoted, under which they were levied; but it was

declared to have been an "immemorial" custom, confirmed by H.M.'s Order in Council of February 27, 1795.

Previously to 1825¹ the fees paid by consuls on their appointments amounted, in each case, to £122 17s., viz. fees £12 15s., and "gratuities" £110 2s., which sum was carried to the Public Fee Fund. In March of that year consuls were relieved from the payment of the gratuities, but they were still required to pay the fee of £12 15s. on their appointment. The Treasury Committee of 1836 stated in their report that they were at a loss to understand why, when diplomatic agents were altogether relieved from charges on their appointments, it was considered a sufficient relief to consuls to diminish the fees and gratuities payable by each of them on their appointment from the sum of £122 17s. to £12 15s., inasmuch as the same reason seemed to exist for a total as for a partial abolition.

But consuls had also to pay, at that time, £2 2s. 6d. for a letter from the Secretary of State to the Treasury for their salaries upon their first appointment, so that, in fact, the fees then paid by every consul were £14 17s. 6d.; but these fees have long since ceased to be paid.

In addition to these charges the Chief Clerk of the Foreign Office stated before the committee that he then still received for his own use a fee of £5 5s. on the appointment of each consul, which produced, on an average, about £30 or £40 a year. This was called the "passing fee," and it was paid

¹ The Consular Act was passed in 1825.

to the Chief Clerk on "passing" the appointments. He also received £3 annually from the Signet Office. The "passing fee" of £5 5s. was still paid as late as October 29, 1859, when it was discontinued.

Another curious way of remunerating the office-keepers and door-keeper for their services was by ordering, for the use of the office, thirty-five copies of the *London Gazette*, which were appropriated as follows :—

To the senior office-keeper	.	.	.	12	copies
To the two junior office-keepers (6 copies each)	.	.	.	12	"
To the door-keeper	.	.	.	9	"
Filed in the office	.	.	.	2	"
				—	
				35	"

Of this number two only were actually delivered, and they were filed in the office; but for the remainder, the office-keepers and the door-keeper received payment, at the rate of 8d. a sheet, in lieu thereof, from Mr. Watts, at that time the publisher of the *London Gazette*. The amounts paid in this way, in 1840, to two office-keepers (Venfield and Cocking) averaged £70 a year, and to the door-keeper (Gracewood) £90 a year.

The two copies, which in the first instance were simply filed, were afterwards bound, and as time went on, the duplicate copies of these very bulky volumes occupied a great deal of useful space in the Printed Library; but they eventually proved to be of great value, when, in 1854, a Secretary of State for War was appointed, the business of the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies being then divided.

It was very necessary that the War Department should, if possible, possess a complete series of the *London Gazette* from its commencement ; but as it was found impossible to procure a complete set of the volumes in the ordinary way, an appeal was made to the Foreign Office for advice in the matter, when one of the two sets in the Printed Library—including the *Oxford and London Gazettes*, which commenced in 1665—were handed over to the War Office, much to its delight, and the Foreign Office was only too glad to get rid of it, so as to be able to utilise the space which these bulky volumes had so long occupied.

Another fact was elicited from this Treasury inquiry in regard to Christmas-boxes paid to the office-keepers, the office messenger, and the door-keeper.

It appeared that the office-keepers attended at the foreign ambassadors' houses for Christmas-boxes ; that one person went there and collected for the office ; that the butler was generally seen, but that sometimes the ambassadors or ministers sent for the person into their rooms. The amount given, which rested with the ambassador or minister, was generally eight guineas, and seldom less than five guineas. Should a lesser sum than five guineas be given it was accepted without any observation.

These Christmas-boxes were equally divided between the two office-keepers, the office messenger, and the door-keeper.

The office-keepers, however, paid £30 a year out of their Christmas-boxes to the office-keepers at the Home Office ; deducting this amount, the

average income received by the office-keepers, and others above mentioned, from this source was about £40 a year.

It was stated by the junior office-keeper that when, in 1834, Lord Palmerston became aware of the fact of these Christmas-gifts being received, he was "perfectly astonished" at that mode of remuneration to the office-keepers, etc. ; but, nevertheless, no order was then given to prohibit or alter the practice.

The door-keeper also received one guinea from each of the gentlemen in the office, besides one guinea from several other public offices. He also had furnished apartments in the Foreign Office, with coals, candles, etc., supplied gratuitously. His situation was stated to have been worth £300 a year.

The Treasury Commissioners, in their report, expressed their regret at finding that Christmas-boxes were received by the office-keepers and others of the Foreign Office. They said they considered it still more objectionable from the practice which prevailed of collecting by personal application to the foreign ministers and others ; a practice which they declared to be very discreditable, for reasons which were obvious, and which must necessarily produce an impression on the minds of those who were not aware of the liberal scale of the salaries of establishments of the country, that the servants of the public departments were inadequately remunerated.

Even Under Secretaries in those days were not above taking Christmas-boxes, for it appeared that Mr. John Backhouse and the Hon. William Fox-

Strangways each received, for his own use, a Christmas gratuity of £2 12s. 6d. from the General Post Office, which fee was brought them annually, in accordance with "ancient usage," but of the origin of this usage there appeared to be no record.

The committee recommended the discontinuance of these payments also, and they were discontinued in consequence.

In the "good old times" presents were made to the members of the Foreign Office, on the occasion of the ratification of an important treaty; for instance, on the occasion of the ratification of the Commercial Treaty with France of 1786, 525 Louis d'Or, or 500 guineas, were presented by the French Government to the "British Chancery," which was distributed as follows:—

To Under Secretaries ($\frac{6}{10}$ ths)	.	.	.	300 guineas.
To Chief Clerk ($\frac{1}{10}$ th)	.	.	.	50 "
To Junior Clerks ($\frac{3}{10}$ ths)	.	.	.	150 "
				<hr/>
				500 "

On June 25, 1793, £1,000 were received from the Russian Government "as a present to the Under Secretaries and Clerks of Lord Grenville's office," on the occasion of the ratification of two conventions between His Majesty King George III. and the Empress of Russia, which sum was distributed as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Two Under Secretaries £300 each (" $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of all presents to the office from foreign Courts")—			
J. B. Burges, £300 }	.	.	.
G. Aust, £300 }	.	.	.
Ten clerks (in proportion to their salaries)	.	.	.
			<hr/>
	£1,000	0	0

In the same month £500 were presented by the Sardinian Chancery to the Under Secretaries of State and clerks in Lord Grenville's office for a treaty ratified between His Majesty and the King of Sardinia on the 13th June, 1793. Each Under Secretary received £150, and the remainder was divided between nine clerks according to their rank and salary in the office.

In the same month £80 were received on the conclusion of a treaty with Hesse, and were divided between ten clerks—the Under Secretaries not participating in this distribution.

In September, 1793, £500 were presented "by the Emperor (of Germany) to the Under Secretaries of State and clerks in Lord Grenville's office" for a convention then recently ratified between His Majesty and the Emperor. Each Under Secretary received £150, and the remainder was distributed between nine clerks in the office: and in the same month presents from the Spanish, Prussian, and Sicilian Chanceries, of £500 each, were made to the Under Secretaries of State and clerks in Lord Grenville's office. Of this amount, £1,500 in all, each of the Under Secretaries received £450, and the nine clerks in due proportion, according to their salaries.

Similar presents were made by the British Government to foreign chanceries in His Majesty's name.

This practice was continued till the year 1831.

On January 18, 1831, a circular was sent by Lord Palmerston to H.M.'s diplomatic agents abroad, informing them that, with a view to economy, His

Majesty had been pleased to order that the presents which it had been hitherto customary to give, in His Majesty's name, to the plenipotentiaries and chanceries of foreign states, upon the exchange of the ratifications of treaties and conventions, or to ambassadors or ministers of foreign Courts sent to His Majesty upon special missions of congratulation or condolence, or to the representatives of foreign Powers permanently accredited to the British Court, on their taking leave of His Majesty at the termination of their functions, should be thenceforth altogether discontinued; and on April 9, 1834, this rule was extended to other branches of H.M.'s service, prohibiting, indiscriminately, all persons in H.M.'s employment, in diplomatic, consular, naval, or military capacities, from receiving from a foreign Government any presents, whatever might be the occasion on which presents might be offered.

CHAPTER X

ANECDOTES AND INCIDENTS

“**W**HAT’S in a name?” is a question which has frequently been asked ever since the days of Shakespeare. Some people attach a great deal of importance to a name, should it be only that of a ship, and I may here relate what happened in 1842.

In that year an arrangement was come to between the British and Prussian Governments for the creation of a Protestant Bishopric of Jerusalem. The first Bishop appointed by the British Government under the Act 5 Vict. cap. 6, was the Rev. M. S. Alexander, and it was thought that it would give more importance to the event and add éclat to the affair if the Bishop was conveyed to the Holy Land in a British ship of war. The Admiralty were accordingly communicated with, and, I was told, offered to place at the Bishop’s disposal H.M.S. *Infernal*, then building at Woolwich. The Bishop, it is said, was indignant at the offer, and declined to be conveyed in a ship bearing such an objectionable name. The Admiralty, however, had some difficulty in finding another vessel available just at that time; but at length they stated that they could place at the Bishop’s disposal H.M.S. *Devastation*. This was no very great improvement in the name

of a ship of war which was to convey a Bishop of the Church of England for the first time on his journey to Jerusalem ; but there was no help for it, and the Bishop was, I am told, conveyed to Jaffa, on his way to the Holy Land, in that vessel.

The next incident has reference to the recovery of a lost book belonging to the British Museum.

I had occasion, in the year 1852, to go to the Museum to consult Mr. Watts, who was then Keeper of the Printed Books, with a view to ascertain whether a Russian ukase had ever been published which bore upon a political question then under consideration.¹ Mr. Watts seemed much pleased at a reference being required to his Russian Library. He told me that when he first entered the British Museum there were scarcely any Russian books in the Library, which made such an impression upon him that he set to work at once to see if he could not improve upon that state of things, with the result that, after many years, he had succeeded in making the collection of Russian books one of the best in any library in the world.

On entering the Russian Library, of which he was so justly proud, he said to me, pointing to one of the shelves, "Do you see that blank space?" I replied that I did ; upon which he said with a sigh, "Ah ! it makes my heart ache whenever I look at that vacant space, for the library is incomplete owing to the want of one book which should be there to complete the collection." On examining the binding of the volume of the series to which he pointed,

¹ It was when H.R.H. Prince Alfred, afterwards Duke of Edinburgh and Duke of Saxe-Coburg, was offered the Throne of Greece.

I said, "Do you know, I think I've got that very book; for we have had in our Printed Library at the Foreign Office for several years one Russian book, bound precisely like those I now see before me, and it may, on examination, prove to be that very missing volume. Should it turn out to be so, I will at once send it to you." Mr. Watts was enchanted at the very thought, and on my forwarding the volume to him for his inspection, after my return to the office, it proved to be his long-lost child. The book had been stamped "Foreign Office," but at Mr. Watts' request I wrote inside the cover that it had been "stamped Foreign Office in error," and I attached my signature to the statement, and I was told that the valuable collection of Russian books in the British Museum was thereby then made complete.

The book had been brought from St. Petersburg in a Queen's messenger's bag, addressed to the Librarian of the Foreign Office, but without any letter or intimation that it was intended for the British Museum. I believe that no one but myself had ever noticed the book, so that it was fortunate that I went myself to the British Museum to consult with Mr. Watts.

I once had occasion to go to the House of Lords to see Mr. Thoms, the Librarian, who held that post for many years. On my entering his room he expressed his agreeable surprise at my paying him a visit "at last." I apologised for never having done so before, and told him that I had not been into the Library of the House of Lords since Mr. Leary was there. He laughed at this, and said,

"Why, Mr. Leary has been dead these thirty years." I then told him that I knew him very well, and remembered his calling upon my father at the Foreign Office one day and asking him if he knew where the quotation came from, 'while Bradshaw bullied in a broad-brimm'd hat'; saying that some peer wished to quote it in a speech which he was about to make that evening.

Mr. Thoms started on my telling him this, and asked me whether I had been looking at some papers which he had on his desk, to which I replied that he well knew I had not moved from where we were then standing, which was many yards from his desk, upon which he said, "Then come and see it"; and we then walked up to his desk, and he showed me that he was at that very moment writing to a paper, and pointing out, in answer to a querist, where that very quotation was taken from—"while Bradshaw bullied in a broad-brimm'd hat."¹

There are probably few official persons now living who remember the late "Bishop of Bond Street." It may be as well, therefore, to remind my readers who he was, and to record a few anecdotes respecting him. One day an office-keeper came into my room holding in his hand the card of a gentleman who, he said, was anxious to see me. On looking at the card I saw the name, "The Bishop of Bond Street," printed upon it, surmounted by a bishop's

¹ The following will be found in Bramston's *The Man of Taste*, in allusion to the trial of King Charles I.:—

"So Britain's monarch once uncover'd sat,
While Bradshaw bullied in a broad-brimm'd hat."

mitre in gold. I thought this very extraordinary, but told the office-keeper to show the gentleman in. The door opened, and in walked a jolly-looking individual, having every appearance of being a Methodist parson.

On entering he at once explained, with a familiar smile, that his name was "Bishop," and that he was the well-known gunsmith of Bond Street—in fact, that he was "the Bishop" of Bond Street. His object in calling upon me was merely to make an inquiry respecting one of H.M.'s consuls abroad who had had some business transactions with him.

I remember being told that Mr. Bishop had a remarkable faculty for tracing and recovering lost or stolen property, no matter what it might be—a dog, a piece of jewellery, or anything else of value—and that he was so clever in recovering dogs which had been stolen that he was invited to assist the Government in framing a Bill to be introduced into Parliament for the punishment of anyone who might be detected in actually stealing, or in aiding, abetting, or assisting others to steal a dog belonging to another person. The Bill, I was told, was passed into law, and that the first person arrested under it was this very same Mr. Bishop who had helped the Government to frame the Bill! How far this may be true I am unable to say; but some years after this I was told another dog story about Mr. Bishop, which I believe to be a true one. It was this. One day G. E. M., of the Foreign Office, lost a favourite large white Pomeranian dog. Its name was "Brush," and I have often seen it perform some very clever tricks. The dog-stealers

soon fixed their eyes on it, and one day it was stolen. G. E. M., on discovering his loss, at once proceeded to Mr. Bishop, and after laying the case before him, asked his advice as to how he should proceed in order to recover his lost pet. Mr. Bishop replied that it would take some little time to consider the matter, and asked him to call again in a day or two. On G. E. M. paying his second visit Mr. Bishop said, "Well, I think I can find your dog for you, sir. In the course of a day or two some man will probably come up to you as you are taking your usual walk, and, stopping you, will say inquiringly, 'Beg pardon, sir, but might you have lost a dog?' to which you will, of course, reply, 'Yes.' He will then ask you to describe its colour and appearance, which you will proceed to do. He will then say, 'Well, I knows a friend who knows a pal who has found a dog just like that 'ere one as you describe, and I think I could persuade him to let you have him for a couple of sovs.' You must then say, 'Well, if you can get me back that dog which I believe to be mine I will give you a couple of sovereigns'; but, what's more," Mr. Bishop said, "you must give him the money then and there. He won't deceive you, for there's honour among thieves." He then said, "The man will then appoint a day and time for you to meet him, and when you do so you will find he has got your dog for you all right." A couple of days after this a little, stout-built man, with a large ring on his thumb, stopped G. E. M., and the very conversation which "the Bishop" foretold did actually pass between them, and at the end of

the interview the man appointed G. E. M. to meet him outside a public-house in Searle Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the following morning at ten o'clock. As soon as the man had gone G. E. M. went off to Scotland Yard and engaged a detective to accompany him to Searle Street on the following day, his intention being to give the man into custody for dog-stealing (whether this was quite fair or not, under the circumstances, I won't presume to say); but the little man proved himself to be too wide awake to be caught in such a trap. He was at his post at the time appointed, and on seeing G. E. M. approaching he went up to him and said, "Now what's the use of your bringing that 'ere detective here? I sees him at the corner of the street." G. E. M. endeavoured to assure him that he was mistaken, but it was of no avail; the little man replied, "Oh, indeed; now look 'ere, you've got a detective a-watching o' me, and I've got a detective a-watching o' he, so as long as he remains there no business will be done." There was no help for it, therefore, but for G. E. M. to put the best face he could on it, and to go up to the detective and request him to depart, which he did. On G. E. M.'s return to the little man he found him still standing outside the small public-house, and on G. E. M. being invited into the passage, there, sure enough, was the lost dog. On seeing it G. E. M. made a grab at the man's collar, but he was too quick for him, for there were a succession of swing doors through which he easily passed and made his escape. This little piece of excitement over, G. E. M. was delighted

at regaining possession of his long-lost pet ; but he was soon doomed to be sadly disappointed, for it was not long before he discovered that it was no longer the same desirable animal that it had previously been, for instead of being very cleanly in its habits it was dirty in the extreme, and instead of being clever it was as stupid as an owl, which was, no doubt, caused by its having been left for about a fortnight in a pitch-dark hole under the floor of a room in the man's house and half starved. He eventually made a present of it to a friend, by whom it was greatly admired, and who felt sure she would be able to reform it, but whether she succeeded in doing so or not I never heard.

A word should be said about "Pam," another dog which was a great favourite in the office for some few years. He was a fine large Newfoundland, with smooth, jet black hair, and was the property of Mr. (now Lord) Currie. He used to wander through the different rooms of the office at will, as if the whole place belonged to him, and as his visits were fully appreciated, he was frequently rewarded with a gift of one of the far-famed office biscuits, although there was a strong suspicion in the minds of most of us that "cupboard love," and not personal friendship for anyone in particular, except his own master, was the cause of his visits. He could perform many of the usual dog tricks, such as jumping great heights, pretending to be dead, and so forth ; but his great accomplishment was the performance of the hat trick.

An old hat, known as "Pam's hat," used to hang on a peg in Mr. Currie's room, and should a

friend call upon him who, by chance, was not aware of the trick, the subject of the hat was introduced into the conversation, and if the friend could be induced to put the hat on his head, which he occasionally did, Pam, who was generally lying on the hearthrug, apparently asleep, but "wide awake," would instantly spring to his feet, and bounding across the room, would jump on to the visitor, and putting his large front paws on his shoulders, would remove the hat from the visitor's head with his mouth, much to the surprise and sometimes alarm of the visitor, but to the great amusement of the lookers on.

There were several swing doors in the narrow passages of the old office, and should Pam's master put his own hat on and show signs of going out, Pam would instantly rush through the passages before his master like a wild animal, and set the swing doors flying backwards and forwards, until he got to the hall door, which he could, however, push open, like the others, with his paws.

But, alas! when the office was temporarily removed to Whitehall Gardens, poor old Pam's happiness ceased; the passage doors were much heavier, and some only opened on one side, which so baulked poor Pam that he soon showed signs of being disgusted with the change. He remained, however, with us during the seven years that we were in Whitehall Gardens, and accompanied us back to the new offices in Downing Street. But it was not the same place to him; there were no longer any swing doors to amuse him, and the office biscuit had been discontinued, but worst of

all, he had to be chained up, and no strangers then ventured to go near him. Eventually he disappeared, where to, I cannot say; I can only guess!

The story of "Pam" and the biscuits reminds me of another sagacious dog belonging to another gentleman in the Foreign Office. I frequently had a bag of biscuits in a drawer of my writing-table, and one dog especially, out of the many which used to accompany their masters to the office, soon became aware of this, and as I occasionally gave him a biscuit when he came into my room with his master he would sit up on his haunches by my side and he always got his reward. But one day when he paid me a visit I opened the drawer and convinced him that I was "out of biscuits," at which he speedily took his departure, and I saw nothing of him for some time; but after the lapse of a few days I had occasion to go into his master's room, and there I saw my little friend lying on the hearthrug before the fire. He took no notice of me, nor I of him; but as I was leaving the room I said in a whisper, "I've got a fresh bag of biscuits in my room, if you would like to come and see me." Still he never moved, and seemed to take no notice whatever; but I had not returned to my room for more than a couple of minutes before the dog escaped from his master's room and contrived to get into my room through a door in an adjoining room leading into mine, and there I saw him, to my astonishment, sitting up and begging for his biscuit as usual; and I need scarcely say he was not disappointed.

Ever since the day when Bellingham shot Mr. Spencer Perceval in the lobby of the House of Commons (May 11, 1812), on account of an unredressed claim which he had against H.M.'s Government, there have always been grievance-mongers against various departments of the State, and no doubt there will be such persons, unfortunately, to the end of time.

In the days of the old Foreign Office, an individual named Dr. Q—— was perpetually addressing letters to the Secretary of State respecting a certain claim which he had against a foreign Government. As the replies which he received from the Foreign Secretary always declined to support it officially, he called one day at the Foreign Office, and having gained access to the department which had the management of the correspondence relating to that particular country, he walked into the room and took a chair uninvited, and, addressing the senior clerk of the department, said in a defiant tone, "I don't move from here until I get a satisfactory reply to the numerous letters which I have addressed to the Secretary of State respecting my claim against the —— Government." The senior clerk, an old official of long standing, made no reply, but quietly rang his bell, and on the messenger who was stationed in a passage close at hand entering the room, he said, "Fetch a policeman"; but before the officer arrived the worthy doctor had taken the hint and departed, and very little more was ever heard of him and his groundless claim.

Again, those who know Folkstone well may

have noticed in the churchyard adjoining the parish church a broken column, erected to the memory of a certain reverend gentleman who was chaplain at various places abroad. A long inscription was originally put upon it, but it has for many years been designedly obliterated; still, the words "Foreign Office" can be distinctly traced. This gentleman had a long-standing grievance against the Foreign Office, which those who erected this monument to his memory were desirous of permanently recording, but such a mode of redressing a grievance was apparently considered by others to be unsuited to a memorial in a churchyard, and the whole of the story of his grievance was afterwards chiselled through in such a manner as to render it illegible.

The column has since been removed from where it originally stood, and it now stands behind the iron fencing on the south side of the parish church, partially concealed by shrubs.

My father had once a rather unpleasant visit from a grievance-monger. One evening a stranger entered his room at the Foreign Office, and addressing him said, "I believe you are Mr. Hertslet," and my father, by a slight bow, acknowledged that he was. The stranger then proceeded to address him thus: "I have, for a long time past, had certain claims against the — Government, and from inquiries which I have made, I have reason to believe that the unsatisfactory replies which I have received from the Secretary of State, denying the justice of my claims, have been based upon written reports made to him by you in your official capacity.

I therefore now tell you, in the coldest blood, that it is my intention to wait for you some evening at the corner of Downing Street and blow your brains out. Good evening!" This was not pleasant hearing, and my father, who was anything but a nervous man, remembering how Bellingham had shot Mr. Spencer Perceval when labouring under a similar supposed grievance, thought it more prudent to return home by another route than his usual one for a few days, until the excited gentleman's wrath should have subsided, and he heard no more of him.

About 1872, Mr. John Brodribb Bergne,¹ (father of Sir Henry Bergne), was then Superintendent of the Treaty Department, and among his many other duties was the management of all questions relating to the acceptance and wearing of foreign Orders by British subjects.

He came into my room one day, and told me that an English officer had applied to be allowed to accept and wear the Portuguese Order of the "Tower and Sword" for military service rendered by him to Portugal many years previously. The applicant said he knew that according to the regulations of 1815 the time had long gone by within which he ought to have made his application, but that he then founded his request to be allowed to wear the Order on the ground that another British officer who had served in Portugal at the same time as he did, and in the same capacity as himself, had been allowed to accept and wear the same Order.

¹ He was in the Foreign Office from 1817 to 1873, nearly fifty-six years.

The matter was not one which really concerned me, but Mr. Bergne asked me to read a minute which he had written, and in which he had pointed out the reasons why the request could not be complied with.

After reading it I looked up, and said, "Do you know, I am in a position to prove that the officer referred to never was allowed to accept and wear that Order, and, more than that, that he never did wear it"; and, putting my hand in my pocket, I produced the very Order in question. Mr. Bergne seemed utterly astonished at this extraordinary coincidence, and inquired how I got possession of the Order, and what proof I had that it was the identical Order, upon which I offered the following explanation.

When I succeeded my father as Librarian of the Foreign Office, I found in one of the drawers of his desk some letters addressed by the Portuguese Government to certain British officers, and also some foreign Orders to which the letters referred. For some reason, which I never heard, these letters were not sent forward, and one of them was addressed to the very officer to whom the applicant in question referred as forming a precedent in his case. This, I maintained, clearly showed that the Order had not even been offered to him, and the fact that the Order was still retained in the Foreign Office was, I said, a clear proof that he never wore it.

Then Mr. Bergne proceeded to inquire how it happened that I had the Order in my pocket at the very moment he came to make the inquiry. It was

about Christmas-time, and I had undertaken to personate the well-known deception of a dwarf, for the amusement of my children and their little friends, and had taken this Order, with one or two others, home with me to decorate the dwarf's dress. The festivities being over, I had that morning brought the Orders back to the office to replace them in the drawer where I found them, and was about to do so when he entered the room. He was as much astonished at the coincidence as I was, and before he left me I handed to him all the letters and Orders which I had discovered, as they really belonged more to his department than they did to mine; but what ultimately became of them I never heard. Mr. Bergne died on January 16, 1873.

The name of Charles Marvin will long be remembered in connection with an event which occurred at the Foreign Office on the eve of the meeting of the Congress at Berlin in June, 1878. He was employed in the Treaty Department as a temporary copying clerk or writer, at 10*d.* an hour, and was paid by the Civil Service Commissioners, by whom he was recommended to the Foreign Office. He was not, therefore, a Foreign Office clerk, as most people would naturally infer from reading a book which he published, bearing the title of *Our Public Offices*, in which is embodied "An account of the disclosure of the Anglo-Russian Agreement and the unrevealed Secret Treaty of May 31, 1878, by Charles Marvin, formerly of the Foreign Office."

On the 30th May the *Globe* newspaper published in an "Extra Special Edition" what purported to

be the chief heads of a secret agreement between England and Russia.

The Marquis of Salisbury left London on June 10, 1878, to attend the Congress of Berlin.

On June 14 an article appeared in the *Globe* (fifth edition) headed, "Full Text of the Anglo-Russian Agreement." After an introductory paragraph it gave a substantial translation of two documents, one headed "Projet de Memorandum," with the names of "Schouvaloff" and "Salisbury" printed at the end, and the other "Memorandum No. 2." This naturally caused great excitement."

On June 27 Charles Marvin was brought before Mr. Vaughan, the then magistrate at Bow Street, on a warrant charging him with stealing, copying, and appropriating certain documents connected with the negotiations then pending between the Governments of England and Russia. After the charge had been formally preferred, the case was adjourned until July 9, when Marvin was re-examined, and released on bail.¹

On July 16 the inquiry was continued before Mr. Vaughan, who, after hearing all the evidence produced, decided that there was no evidence to support the charge of larceny against Charles Marvin, and he therefore ordered him to be discharged.²

The "Official Secrets Act, 1889," had not then been passed.

¹ *Times*, June 10, 17, and 28, 1878.

² *Annual Register*, 1878, p. 245, "The Secret Despatch."

With regard to divulging State secrets, the reader may be reminded that during the reign of Queen Anne an inferior clerk in Mr. Secretary Harley's office was tried at the Old Bailey, and executed at Tyburn, for corresponding with the French Government during the war. The event is thus recorded in Smollett's *History of England*:—

“At this period (1707) Mr. Secretary Harley's character incurred suspicion, from the treachery of William Gregg, an inferior clerk in his office who was detected in a correspondence with M. Chamillard, the French King's Minister. When his practices were detected, he made an ample confession, and, pleading guilty to indictment at the Old Bailey, was condemned to death for high treason. The Queen granted him a reprieve, in hope of his making some important discovery, but he really knew nothing of consequence to the Nation. He was an indigent Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own Country, and now offered his services to Chamillard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery; but he was discovered before he had reaped any fruits from his correspondence. As he had no secrets of importance to impart, he was executed at Tyburn (26th April, 1708), where he delivered a paper to the Sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley entirely ignorant of all his treasonable connections, notwithstanding some endeavours that were made to engage him in an accusation of that Minister.”

In 1863 the Ionian Islands were annexed to the Kingdom of Greece, with the consent of the Powers which had in 1815 placed them under British protection. But this change was very displeasing to some British ladies, who had been either born at

Corfu or on one of the other islands, as well as to ladies who had married Ionians, and who, by the change, became Greek subjects. Still the fact of persons being born in the Ionian Islands at the time they were under British protection did not make them British subjects, as the Ionian Islands were neither a British colony nor a British possession.

A case in point occurred some few years after the annexation had taken place. A lady of English birth married an Ionian during the time that those islands were under British protection. After their annexation to Greece her husband died, and she returned to England. By her marriage the lady naturally assumed the nationality of her husband, and at his death she remained the widow of a Greek subject, and took no steps to resume her original British nationality.

One day she applied at the Passport Office for a British passport, but it was at first refused to her, on the ground that she had by her marriage become a Greek. The lady was very irate at this, and maintained that as her husband was dead and she had returned to England, she had no longer anything to do with the Ionian Islands or with Greece; and as a passport was still refused to her at the Passport Office, she demanded to see someone of higher authority than the official who had arrived at this decision. She was accordingly shown into the room of one of the senior clerks, who, on hearing her statement, assured her that the passport clerk was quite right, and again explained to her that by her marriage with an Ionian she had

become a Greek. Upon which she laughed and said, "Come, come; you really must not talk rubbish to me," adding, "I know nothing about your treaties or naturalisation laws. All I know is that I am an English lady, and I demand a British passport as such"; and a passport was eventually granted to her, her good looks, good temper, and fascinating manners having overcome all official scruples. What the Home Office would have said had they known this at the time, I cannot say.

When Terashima Munenori, the first Japanese Minister, came to this country, on August 12, 1872, I was instructed by the Secretary of State (Lord Granville) to assist him in obtaining such information as he might require with regard to the management of the various Government Departments in this country; and I did so.

The Minister and his staff, all dressed in Japanese costume, were brought into my room by Mr. Hammond, and they were shown our collection of treaties with Foreign Powers, including those with Japan, in which latter they appeared to take special interest. As they were closely examining the text and signatures attached to one of their treaties, Mr. Hammond looked over their shoulders, and was explaining matters, when the Minister looked at him, and whispering to me, inquired, "Who is this?" when I had to explain that it was the Permanent Under Secretary of State.

On March 3, 1875, Wooyeno Kagenori succeeded Terashima Munenori as Japanese Minister in London.

In 1879 Wooyeno Kagenori was recalled to

Japan, to fill a high position (that of Foreign Secretary, I was told) in the Japanese Government, and he and Madame Kagenori, with their little infant, who was born here, were compelled to leave England in the height of summer, when the heat in the Red Sea was excessive. The result was that, to their intense grief, their little babe died on the passage, and was buried in the cemetery at Aden. A few months later, Suzuki Kinso, the Japanese Secretary, was also recalled to Japan, and before leaving England he received a letter from Wooyeno Kagenori, requesting him to have a gravestone prepared, with an inscription cut upon it, in memory of his little child, and to place it in the cemetery at Aden, on his way to Japan. The order was given for the stone to be prepared and engraved in accordance with the late Minister's instructions; but just before Suzuki Kinso left England he came to me in despair. He asked me how it was possible for him to place the stone in the cemetery at Aden, when he knew no one there, and the steamer only remained but a very short time. Being anxious to assist him as far as I could, I went across to the India Office to consult my friend the late Sir William Merewether, who was then one of the members of the Council of India, and had formerly been Resident at Aden, as to the best steps to be taken. Finding that he knew the gentleman who was then the Resident, I asked him to be good enough to write him such a friendly letter as I should have written to himself had he been still Resident there, requesting him to give Suzuki Kinso all the assistance in his power

in the object which he had in view. This he readily consented to do, so that, on my return to the office, I was able to console Suzuki Kinso by assuring him that I would send him a letter next morning, which I felt sure would enable him to do all that he required on his arrival at Aden. The next day I received a letter from Sir William Merewether, addressed to the Resident at Aden, inclosed in one to myself, in which he asked me to tell my friend to let it be known who he was the moment he arrived at Aden, as in his letter he had asked the Resident to send down his carriage to meet him, to invite him to the Residency, to treat him as a foreign official of rank during his short stay at Aden, and to assist him in every way he could. I put both these letters in an envelope and sent them off at once to Suzuki Kinso, one to be presented to the Resident on his arrival, and the other, which Sir William had written to myself, for his perusal. The next day he called upon me again at the Foreign Office to express his gratitude, and to make, as he said, one more request, which was, that I would allow him to keep the letter which Sir William Merewether had addressed to myself, so that he might, on his return to Japan, show his countrymen how kindly the English people behaved to the Japanese.

I readily gave Suzuki Kinso permission to keep my letter, as I firmly believe that such little acts of social kindness tend far more towards producing a friendly feeling between nations than any amount of official correspondence.

I afterwards heard that the Resident at Aden

had taken Suzuki Kinso into the British Residency, had treated him most kindly in every way, and had enabled him to carry out the wishes of Wooyeno Kagenori and his wife with regard to their child's grave.

Some time after this I happened to meet in London a friend who I had heard had been appointed to a chaplaincy in India, and on my inquiring how he liked his new post, he told me that he had not gone further than Aden, as, on his arrival there, he had been offered that chaplaincy, and had accepted it. Upon his telling me this, I inquired whether he was at Aden at the time when a tombstone was placed in the churchyard to the memory of a Japanese baby. He replied that he was, and on my proceeding to relate to him the circumstances of the case, as above related, he exclaimed, "Then you are the gentleman who caused me to be done out of my fees, as the Governor gave orders that all fees were to be remitted on that special occasion!"

On March 28, 1879, I received two handsome bronze vases, inlaid with gold, as a present from the Japanese Government (not in any way connected with the above Aden incident), which I obtained Lord Salisbury's permission to accept. They were accompanied by the following letter:—

"JAPANESE LEGATION, *March 28, 1879.*

"DEAR SIR EDWARD HERTSLET,—I have been instructed by my Government, through the Minister of Marine, to request your kind acceptance of a pair of bronze Japanese vases, as a slight memorial of the appreciation of the courtesy which you have always shown to my countrymen when they have

required information on subjects on which you are so well known an authority, and particularly on the occasion of a visit of a Japanese Naval Commissioner to this country in 1875.

"In sending you these vases, please permit me to add the assurance of my personal esteem.

"I am, dear Sir Edward Hertslet,

"Very truly yours,

"WOORYENO KAGENORI."

I hope I may be excused for now relating what passed at an interview which I once had with the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Just before the close of the war between Russia and Turkey, in 1877, I received a message from Lord Beaconsfield to say that his lordship wished to see me at his official residence. I accordingly went over to 10, Downing Street, and on my arrival I was shown into a room in which Mr. Montagu Corry (now Lord Rowton) was seated; and after a few moments, Lord Beaconsfield entered. On my being introduced to him by Mr. Corry, he shook me warmly by the hand, and said, "I am delighted to make your personal acquaintance. The name of 'Hertslet' has been familiar to me for a great many years, and it is a name which I have always highly respected." He then asked me what I thought of the Russian reply to Turkey respecting the proposed peace negotiations. I replied that I had not seen it. He then inquired whether I had not read the *Times* of that morning; and on my saying that I had, he said, "Well, you may take the telegram from St. Petersburg as official," and again inquired what I thought of it. I asked his lordship

what the particular point was upon which he had invited my observations, and he said, "The Russian Government have told the Porte that they had left the question of a general armistice to be settled between the Russian and Turkish commanders." On his inquiring if that was in accordance with custom, I replied that I thought it was not. I told him that, speaking from memory, I thought it was quite within the province of military commanders to conclude a truce for the purpose of settling such questions as the burial of the dead, the surrender of a fortress, or the exchange of prisoners, but that as to a general armistice such as was proposed by Russia, which had reference to the suspension of hostilities by sea as well as by land, and to the military operations in Asia as well as in Europe, it appeared to me that the Russian and Turkish Governments alone could arrange the terms, and that although the Russian Government might have given authority to their commander to dictate the terms of an armistice, which were to form the basis of a preliminary treaty of peace, the Sultan could only give authority to his commander to accept those terms, provided he was prepared to authorise him to accept those of unconditional surrender. But I proposed that I should be allowed to look into precedents of what had occurred in former negotiations of a similar kind before giving a positive opinion. Upon this Mr. Corry said, "I am sure the Prime Minister will agree to what I am about to say"; and, then turning to me, he said, "What the Prime Minister wishes to receive from you is not a memorandum, but an expression of

your views as to what should be done with regard to agreeing to the Russian proposal." I replied that I would at once proceed to do as his lordship wished, and I asked when my report would be required. To which Lord Beaconsfield replied, "If you would call upon me again to-morrow morning, between eleven and twelve, I should be happy to see you." I looked at my watch, and finding that it was then close upon five o'clock, I hurried back to the Foreign Office, collected a few papers together, and started home with them; and after a very light dinner I went to bed early, and arose next morning to commit to paper what had passed in various previous negotiations for an armistice between contending Powers, and my comments and views with regard to them, and what, in my humble opinion, should be done in the case then under consideration.

At the hour appointed I presented myself again at 10, Downing Street. The Lord Chancellor was with Lord Beaconsfield, but when he left I was shown into his lordship's room, and I then handed to him my report. He very kindly wheeled an armchair before the fire, and, addressing me, said, "Now, you sit down there and make yourself comfortable whilst I read this paper, which I shall do most carefully." On my making my apologies for the rough manner in which my memorandum had been written, and explaining that time would not permit of its being written over again in a legible hand, his lordship observed, "Is this your handwriting?" and on my saying that it was, he said, "I think you write a capital hand; I can read

every word of it." He then commenced to read it at his standing-desk. After reading over a second time the first page, which explained the object of the memorandum, he turned to me and remarked, "That's very well put"; and when he had read my paper through he came up to me, and, shaking me warmly by the hand, said, "I need not detain you any longer. You have done just what I wanted you to do; you have touched upon every point I wished touched upon, and, what's more, you have done it well, as you always do everything." I felt quite overpowered with this high compliment, coming from such a quarter, and, making my bow, I left his room.

A Cabinet was held immediately afterwards, and when it was over, the Private Secretary to the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (the late Sir Stafford Northcote) came over to my room, and, addressing me, said, "My dear Hertslet, my father wishes to know from you what is the difference between a 'truce' and an 'armistice.'" "Oh," I replied, "I think I had better refer you to the Prime Minister." "Exactly," rejoined the Private Secretary, "my father wants to know what you have been saying to the Prime Minister, for he says he never saw him more animated at a Cabinet Council than he was to-day. He gave the Cabinet an account of the various wars that had taken place in Europe in modern times, and how they were terminated, and explained the difference between a 'truce' and an 'armistice' in a manner which quite surprised the Cabinet; and on my father speaking to Lord Beaconsfield on the subject, after

the Cabinet was over, all the answer he could get from him was 'Hertslet Memorandum.' Now, my father wants to know whether you are going to prepare a memorandum, or whether you did prepare one and gave it to Lord Beaconsfield; and, if you did give him one, he would like to have a copy of it." I replied that I had given his lordship one, but that I wrote it so hastily I had not time to keep a copy of it. Here the matter ended, so far as I was concerned; but explanations were obtained from the Russian Government that they had authorised their military commanders to state the conditions on which an armistice would be agreed to.

One evening after dinner at the British Embassy at Berlin, in 1878, I was invited by one of the Secretaries of Embassy into an inner drawing-room to be introduced to his wife. On entering, I found Lord Beaconsfield, Lord and Lady Odo Russell (afterwards Lord and Lady Amphil), Mrs. (now Lady) Dering, and one or two others, sitting and conversing together, and telling amusing stories about Uniforms and Foreign Orders. This is one of the stories as told by Lord Beaconsfield, and I give it, as nearly as I can remember, in his own words. He said, "You know, I have the honour of being one of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House. Well, there is a special uniform belonging to that office. One day I was about to attend a levée at St. James's Palace, and my valet laid out my diplomatic uniform ready for me to put on. Putting implicit confidence in him, I put it on and went to the levée. On appearing before the

Prince, and making my bow, His Royal Highness jocularly remarked, 'It won't do, you're found out.' 'In what, sir?' I inquired. 'Oh,' said the Prince, 'you've got the wrong trousers on'; and, to my horror, on looking down I found that I had got the diplomatic uniform coat on, with the Trinity House trousers. It seemed to amuse the Prince immensely."

Another member of the party present then told the following story, which I believe arose out of the fact that of the British plenipotentiaries (Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury) and their staff from England, Mr. Corry (now Lord Rowton), Mr. (now Lord) Currie, Mr. A. Turnor, Mr. Austin Lee, Hon. F. Bertie, Hon. Eric Barrington, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Gosselin, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and myself, I alone, with the exception of the English military staff, had displayed an Order, which was a C.B. A foreign diplomat was once boasting of the fact that he possessed every foreign Order obtainable; upon which one of his listeners remarked, "I think I have an Order which you do not possess." "Impossible!" was the reply, followed by the inquiry, "What is that one?" "The Order of the Sandwich Islands," was the answer. Upon this the hero's countenance fell, as he did not possess that Order, and the story told was that he died a disappointed man, for, although he possessed nearly all the Orders obtainable from different countries, that of the Sandwich Islands was not one of them!

CHAPTER XI

DIPLOMATISTS AND CONSULS

I DO not propose to relate many anecdotes connected with the Diplomatic or Consular Services, but the following may perhaps be allowed to find a place here.

In speaking of the Diplomatic Service, it will be remembered by some that considerable value was attached by one of our great diplomatists, in giving evidence before the House of Commons, to the giving of hospitality. This was Sir Hamilton Seymour, who, in his examination before the House of Commons on "Official Salaries" in 1850, made a statement which gave rise to a good deal of comment at the time and a certain amount of ridicule in some quarters.

On being asked by the chairman—Mr. J. Wilson Patten—whether it was the custom of the profession to entertain the foreign body, he replied, "Certainly; I consider the giving of dinners is an important part of diplomacy. I have no hesitation in saying so. I have no idea of a man being a good diplomatist who does not give good dinners."

Mr. Cobden then observed, "I understand you to say that you attach great importance to the hospitality which is exercised by our ministers. You

think that the life and soul of diplomacy is to give good dinners?"

To which Sir Hamilton Seymour replied, "I did not mean to speak of a Lucullus dinner, but of the importance of maintaining a hospitable table"; and he added, "In most cases greater importance is attached to a good dinner abroad than in this country. But what I said had reference rather to the society one meets with under such circumstances. It is of great importance to have a house where those who frequent it are likely to meet the ministers or chief people of the country." He further expressed the opinion that the man who would be shocked at the idea of a bribe, was open to the influence of a good dinner and good society.

Some years later, in 1861, another Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the Diplomatic Service, and on Sir Hamilton Seymour being examined before it, the following question was put to him by Mr. Layard, "Do you still hold to the opinion, which has become somewhat celebrated, that, after all, a good dinner goes a great way in diplomacy?" To which Sir Hamilton replied, "I know that my evidence upon that point has given rise to jocular remarks, to which I do not object, but I take the liberty of adhering entirely to that opinion. I would add that it is because I think that much is to be done by kind and social intercourse. My object is this, that people should meet and talk together, and get into amicable relations. In this way the transaction of business is much facilitated." And in answer to this further question, "Therefore you would not

consider it a desirable saving to cut down the allowances made to the heads of missions, so as to leave them a bare salary to meet their expenses?" he replied, "No; certainly not!"

Mr. Eustace Clare Grenville Murray held the appointment of Attaché in the Diplomatic Service, and was sent to Vienna, Hanover, Constantinople, and Teheran. He subsequently held the appointment of H.M.'s Consul-General at Odessa from July 24, 1858, till May 28, 1868, when his "services ceased." The correspondence respecting his dismissal from the Consular Service was laid before Parliament in the latter year.

If he was not the real he was the generally reputed author of the *Roving Englishman* (1855); *Turkey*, (1855); *Pictures from the Battlefields* (1856);¹ *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, by the Roving Englishman (1855), etc. The first of these books, of which I believe he denied the authorship, contained much scurrilous abuse of certain members of the Diplomatic Service; Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, being alluded to as "Sir Hector Stubble," Lord Westmorland (who was very musical) as "Lord Fiddle-de-dee," and so forth; whilst Mr. John Bidwell's father, who was for many years one of the "private agents" in the Foreign Office, was spoken of in such disparaging terms that his son, who was then Mr. Grenville Murray's private agent, declined to act in that capacity any longer, and returned to him his power of attorney. Mr. Murray

¹ Reprinted from *Household Words*.

being unable to obtain another private agent in the office, determined to attack the Foreign Office generally and to do all in his power to destroy the agency system in particular, which he, with the assistance of others with whom he was associated, eventually succeeded in doing.

On January 21, 1869, the first number of a new weekly periodical appeared. The price was six-pence, and the title which it bore was *The Queen's Messenger*. Its main object was to heap abuse upon certain Foreign Office officials, the Secretary of State and Under Secretaries being among the number, as well as upon the agency system which then prevailed, and especially upon those gentlemen who held a similar position to the agent who had declined to act for him. No attempt was made to conceal the names of the individuals against whom these attacks were made, and such epithets as "thief," "criminal," "trickery," "fraud," and the like, were freely used. After heaping unheard-of abuse upon one official in particular, who held high rank in the office, the editor demanded to know why, if the charges of dishonesty and collusion brought against the Foreign Office officials were not true, they did not prosecute their accusers for libel.

No notice having been taken of these scurrilous and abusive attacks by those who were the objects of them, the editor became bolder, and extending his sphere of action, began to write a series of articles, attacking others outside the Foreign Office; the first of the kind being headed "The Duke of Fairbrother." Between March and June,

1869, followed a weekly attack upon the personal character of some well-known noblemen, under the general heading of "Our Hereditary Legislators," and such personal names as "The Marquis of Gutterford"; "Duke of Gambledon, Randon, and Chatelchaneau"; "Chilperic Loos-Fyshe, Lord Scampcallous"; "Thomas Noudelle-Gosling, Lord Humbletower"; "Bob Coachington, Lord Jarvey."

The editor of this paper was believed to have been Mr. Grenville Murray, though he denied it.

The number of the paper in which the article headed "Bob Coachington, Lord Jarvey" appeared was dated June 17, 1869, and the insulting remarks which it contained were so obviously levelled at the present Lord Carrington's father that the son made up his mind to give Mr. Grenville Murray a castigation for it. Accordingly, about midnight on June 22, his lordship, in company with a witness, appeared on the doorsteps of the Conservative Club in St. James's Street, and as Mr. Grenville Murray came out of the club Lord Carrington asked him if his name was Mr. Grenville Murray, and on the latter replying that it was he struck him with his stick. On being thus assaulted Mr. Murray desired the porter of the club to call a policeman, but Lord Carrington interposed by saying, "I am Lord Carrington; you know where to find me. As I have served you already I will serve you again." He had previously charged Mr. Murray with having written the article in question, which Mr. Murray denied.

A summons was then taken out by Mr. Murray against Lord Carrington, charging his lordship first

with a common assault, and secondly with provoking a challenge. The case was tried at Bow Street on July 7, and it created much interest. After hearing the evidence, the magistrate decided, on the first charge, that Lord Carrington should be bound over to keep the peace in two sureties of £2,000 each, and himself in £5,000; and with regard to the second charge, that the case must be sent for trial at the sessions. The Duke of Beaufort and Lord Colville became the required sureties;¹ and now an amusing scene took place in the court. During the examination, a large strong-box, such as is generally used by lawyers for the safe custody of deeds and valuable documents, had been standing on the solicitors' table (beneath the magistrate's bench) in the charge of a solicitor, who occasionally handed to Mr. Freshfield, Lord Carrington's solicitor, the papers which were alleged to have been stolen from the office of *The Queen's Messenger*.

Previously to the names of sureties being formally entered, and while the magistrate's clerk was in the act of calling upon them, a tremendous shout was raised in the court, simultaneously with which a rush was made towards the table referred to, the object of the attacking party (for the attack was evidently premeditated) being to secure the box containing the papers. The leader of this party, a stout, thick-set young fellow, whose name did not transpire, at once laid siege to the box, whereupon the old gentleman in whose custody it had all along been, threw his body half across the object of contention, held on with wonderful tenacity, and shouted

¹ *Morning Post*, July 8, 1869.

"Police!" at the top of his voice. This was the work of a moment, for as soon as the Carrington party saw what was up, a second rush was made to the defence; and then ensued a desperate and determined struggle, the confusion of which was materially added to by the consternation of the lookers-on, and their anxiety to keep clear of what, at one time, looked like a murderous affray. Shouts of "Police!" "Lock the door!" and "Murder!" were intermingled with the noise of breaking of chairs and the upsetting of tables, and the scuffle grew in desperation every moment. Spectators, one after the other, beat up to the rescue, and at last the shouts of "Police!" were replied to by the appearance of some ten or twelve of these blue-coated officials, who, let it be said to their praise, fought admirably in the cause of peace. It was with no little effort that they succeeded in wedging their bodies through the crowd of shouting humanity that were dragging each other in a struggling knot, as it were, from one part of the court to the other. The fight continued for at least a quarter of an hour, during which time the learned magistrate, whose table had been driven half across the bench, and his statute books thrown into disorder, calmly looked on, for he had, for the time being, lost all control over the court, so distinguished for its dignity. A cry, "We have got it! we have got it!" brought this disgraceful scene to an issue. The police had succeeded in wrenching from the Grenville Murray party the bone of contention, and along with it had secured three or four of those whom they supposed to be the ringleaders. The

rescue of the box brought persons with besmeared faces, dishevelled hair, and broken hats (who had been struggling on the ground) to their feet, vowing vengeance against each other. Several were kept in custody for some time, but, as no formal charge was preferred against them, they were all set at liberty, except Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, against whom a charge instituted for taking part in the disturbance was postponed. The magistrate's seal was afterwards put on the deed-box, the sureties were bound over, and Lord Carrington left the court with a party of gentlemen.

Perjury was, however, alleged to have been committed by Mr. Grenville Murray, during the hearing of the case against Lord Carrington, in which his lordship was charged with having used words to incite Mr. Murray to fight a duel. Mr. Murray had also denied, on oath, that he had written the article in *The Queen's Messenger*, attacking Lord Carrington and his father. Lord Carrington accordingly took out a summons against Mr. Grenville Murray, charging him with perjury, and the affair assumed a new phase. The trial of Lord Carrington for assault upon Mr. Murray took place at the Middlesex Sessions, on July 23, 1869, when the jury found his lordship guilty of a common assault, committed under circumstances of the strongest provocation; whereupon he was ordered to enter into his own recognizance in the sum of £100, and to come up for judgment if called upon.

The perjury trial came on at Bow Street, on July 29, 1869; Mr. Murray had, however, started for Paris on the preceding Sunday, and did not answer to his

name when it was called out in court. Upon this the magistrate remarked, "As soon as Mr. Grenville Murray sets his foot upon British soil he will be arrested under my warrant!"¹

The publication of *The Queen's Messenger*, nevertheless, still went on for a time, and articles appeared against other noblemen; but it gradually died of inanition, and no one ever sustained the smallest harm from these scurrilous attacks.

Mr. E. C. Grenville Murray died abroad on December 20, 1881.²

One of our consuls abroad had once a grievance against the Foreign Office. He maintained that he had laid out hundreds of pounds in travelling for the purpose of obtaining valuable information for H.M.'s Government. The Secretary of State, however, did not admit the validity of his claim, but as the ex-consul continued to write and maintain the justice of his demand, it was deemed advisable to cease all further official correspondence with him, and it was arranged between Lord Clarendon and Mr. Hammond that I should reply to his last letter by direction of the Secretary of State. They accordingly drew up the draft of a letter with instructions that I should write it in my own name. It was not such a letter as I should have written myself, but I obeyed orders and wrote it. The party to whom it was addressed sent it in original to Lord Clarendon, in order to show what a rude letter he had received from the Librarian; but this rebuke did not hit me! Nothing daunted, the

¹ *Morning Post*, July 30, 1869.

² *Foreign Office List*, 1882, p. 162.

Secretary of State and Under Secretary drafted a still stronger letter for me to write, telling the applicant that no trace could be found of the map of the country through which he declared he had travelled (which he said he had sent to the Secretary of State, and to which he attached a certain pecuniary value). I was to tell him that the map had never reached the Foreign Office, but that, if he would call upon me, I was authorised to give him a few pounds in compensation for his supposed loss. This second letter I also wrote and despatched.

The next day a tall, dark man, was ushered into my room. He had been serving in the Southern States during the American Civil War, and firing off his revolver there regardless of the consequences. On his entering my room I stated to him the sum which I was authorised to give him in compensation for his loss. I was about to hand it to him and request a receipt, when he looked me full in the face and said, "Excuse me, but you speak in a very different tone to that in which you write," to which remark, of course, I made no reply. He accepted the money and signed the receipt, and then said, "As you have treated me kindly I will give you a piece of friendly advice, and that is, never to trust this blessed Foreign Office further than you can throw a bull by the tail!" On his taking his departure I went to Mr. Hammond and related to him what had passed, when he said, "I suppose you know why we keep this gentleman at a distance?" and on my pleading ignorance, he told me that in one of his letters he had stated that, for a short time, he had been employed in one

of H.M.'s legations abroad, and had, whilst there, copied various secret despatches, which it was his intention to sell to a foreign Government unless his heavy travelling expenses were repaid to him by the Foreign Office. A few days later he called again, and left with the hall porter a brown-paper parcel, accompanied by a letter to Mr. Hammond, stating that the parcel contained the papers which he had copied, and requesting him to take temptation out of his way by keeping them. This, however, Mr. Hammond was not disposed to do, and requested me to redirect the parcel to him, without opening it, and to return it to his address, but he added, "Don't put your initials 'E.H.' on the cover, whatever you do," as mine were the same as his own. The packet of papers was accordingly returned, and I never heard what became of them or of the owner afterwards.

In 1874 a gross outrage was inflicted on the British Vice-Consul at St. José, Guatemala, and the policy pursued by Lord Derby on that occasion may well be recorded here as laying down an important principle.

Mr. Magee was a merchant at San José as well as British Vice-Consul, and on the facts of the outrage being reported to the Foreign Office, Mr. Magee, although he had been severely flogged and subjected to other indignities, expressed himself desirous of having no claim for compensation made, publicly or privately, on his account. Lord Derby, however, did not support this view. He said :—

"Her Majesty's Government consider that Mr. Magee has no personal position which can interfere with the exaction of due reparation. His character

as a merchant must, in such a grave instance of indignity to the nation of which he is an officer, be merged in his rank as one of Her Majesty's Consular Servants. In such a case the insult extends from the individual to his country, and Her Majesty's Government cannot permit that the honour of Great Britain, and the future security of British subjects in Central America, should be allowed to be compromised in deference to the timidity or private interests of any one person."

Ten thousand pounds were then demanded to be paid as an indemnity, and a salute to be given to the British flag; which demands were complied with.

In January, 1869, a solicitor who had been a school-fellow of mine called upon me at the Foreign Office, and asked me if I could tell him, as an old friend, something about a consul who formerly resided at Corunna; and on my asking him whether he meant old Crispin, he seemed surprised and said, "Why do you say old Crispin?" to which I replied that I remembered seeing him many years previously; he then inquired where it was that I had seen him, and on my saying that it was in my father's room at the old Foreign Office, he said, "Then I am afraid I must summon you as a witness on a trial, which is just coming on in one of the law courts, in the case of Sharpe *v.* Crispin. It is a case of a will and domicile, and the other side maintain that Mr. Crispin lost his domicile from never having returned to England after his appointment as Consul at Corunna." I accordingly attended the court and gave evidence.¹

The Civil Service Commission was first appointed

¹ *Standard*, January 15, 1869.

by an Order in Council dated May 21, 1855. The Commissioners were then regarded with greater dread, if possible, than they are now. The offices in which the examinations were held were in the Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, and the entrance was under the archway leading from the Broad Sanctuary into Dean's Yard. I remember a gallant major, who had served in the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain—then known as the B.A.L., a term invariably used in the Foreign Office in those days, but now almost forgotten—being appointed to a British Vice-Consulate in South America, subject to his passing an examination before these dreaded Commissioners. On the day appointed for his examination he went, as directed, to the office under the archway above mentioned, and seeing a door there, with no name affixed to it, and not being quite sure whether or not it was the office of the Civil Service Commission, he quietly turned the handle, and, seeing a hall porter comfortably seated there, he politely inquired whether that was the office he was in search of, but the only answer he received was, "Wipe your feet, and go upstairs." This naturally gave the gallant major quite a turn, for he said to himself, "If that is the way in which the servants are allowed to speak to gentlemen, what treatment am I likely to receive at the hands of the examiners themselves?" And it was not long before he made the discovery; for from his long residence in Spain he was able to write and speak the Spanish language fluently, but the examiner gave him some document in old Spanish to translate. This he considered so unfair and

unnecessary that he made an official complaint to the Secretary of State, who was so satisfied with the justice of his remonstrance—the Commissioners having expressed themselves satisfied with his examination in every other respect—that the appointment was confirmed.

Many amusing anecdotes have been told, and many others could no doubt be related of the absurd answers which have been given by those who have appeared before the Civil Service Commissioners to test their qualification for admission into various branches of the Civil Service. As an instance of the ignorance of some of those whom I have come across I may mention the case of a gentleman who was offered a Vice-Consular appointment in Morocco, subject to his passing an examination before the Civil Service Commissioners, and who asked me seriously, "like a good fellow, to tell him something about sums," as he said arithmetic was one of the subjects in which he would be required to pass, but it was not one in which he felt he was well up.

On appearing before the examiner he told me he was asked what foreign language he would prefer to be examined in, to which he had replied, "You may examine me in any European language you like"; that the examiner then asked him certain questions in French, to which he said he had replied rapidly, to show that he was well up in that language. "But," he added, "upon my word, I don't think the examiner himself understood what I said." He was then informed by the Secretary of State that it was requisite that he should pass in the

Spanish language, and, as he admitted he knew nothing about it, he was allowed a certain time to study it. He said he intended to take a certain gentleman with him who was a thorough Spanish scholar, and asked if he might be examined in his stead, but of course this idea was laughed at; so he waited for a few weeks, and then wrote to the Secretary of State officially to say he felt sure he would be glad to hear that he was making rapid progress in "*La lengua española*." It is scarcely necessary to add that his nomination to the Vice-Consulate in question was not confirmed.

My father used to tell me a curious story about the way in which Mr. William Smith obtained the appointment of H.M.'s Consul at Lisbon, which I think is worth recording. It was this:—

When H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence (afterwards King William IV.) was in the Royal Navy, but serving in 1814 as a volunteer in the Army, and Mr. W. Smith was a subaltern in the Army, they were present at some action together, when a shot was fired, which struck H.R.H.'s belt, and, glancing off, inflicted a slight wound on Mr. Smith, upon which the Duke went up to him and said, "My dear Smith, that shot was meant for me; now, if I ever become King, I hope you will remind me of this day. I will not forget it, and here's my hand upon it." Years rolled on, and on June 26, 1830, H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence became King. Mr. Smith had then left the Army, and was very anxious to obtain some civil appointment. In 1834 the consulship of Lisbon fell vacant, and by the advice of his friends, Mr. Smith very reluctantly

determined to endeavour to obtain an audience of the King. He accordingly went to the Palace, and explained the object of his visit to the Equerry-in-Waiting. The equerry went to the King, and returned in a few moments, saying, "His Majesty will see you at once." On being ushered into the King's presence, His Majesty held out his hand and said, "My dear Smith, I am delighted to see you again, and I hope you have come to ask me for something." To which Mr. Smith replied that he had ventured to trespass upon His Majesty to ask whether it would be possible for him to assist him in obtaining the appointment of H.M.'s Consul at Lisbon, which post, he had heard, was then vacant. The King at once replied, "Certainly, you shall have it. I will write to Lord Palmerston without delay," and His Majesty did so. Lord Palmerston was exceedingly annoyed at the King's interference with his own especial patronage, and for a time resisted His Majesty's appeal on Mr. Smith's behalf, but he was ultimately compelled to yield, and Mr. Smith obtained the much-coveted consular post (June 2, 1834). Lord Palmerston, however, it is said, never forgave Mr. Smith in his heart; still, he held the post of Consul at Lisbon with great credit for over thirty-one years, and died at his post, at the age of seventy-two, on November 11, 1865. I knew him well.

The occasion on which H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Lieut. Smith were present at an action together must, I think, have been at the Battle of Merxern, for the *Annual Register* for 1837, in recording the death of King William IV.,

after giving an account of his naval service, when Duke of Clarence, and the engagements in which H.R.H. took part in the West Indies, off the coasts of Nova Scotia and Canada, between 1779 and 1782 (at which William Smith could not have been present), goes on to say: "During the early part of the year 1814 H.R.H. was present, as an amateur, with the British forces before Antwerp, when Sir Thomas Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch) commanded, and there distinguished himself by the *insouciance* of his courage at the sanguinary action of Merxern."

A gentleman who once occupied for a time the post of Translator in the Foreign Office was afterwards appointed to a vice-consulship at some place in Bolivia, where he resided for many years, and being anxious to revisit England he applied for leave of absence, and it having been granted he went round to his friends to bid them "good-bye." In order that there might be no delay in the issue of his salary, he forwarded to the Foreign Office a despatch dated the "30th September" reporting that he was "alive and well," and that he had been in the execution of his duties during the whole of the quarter ended that day; but this despatch was really written a few days before September 30, and on his return to his house after taking leave of his friends he dropped down dead. The despatch, nevertheless, was duly received, but it was sent through his private agent, who felt it to be his duty to destroy it, as by the same mail came the news of his death, which had taken place a few days prior to the date of the despatch.

Before the railway was made from London to Richmond, those who resided in the latter town (then almost a village) were in the habit of going up to London by one of the very well appointed omnibuses which plied on that road. I was one of those residents, and one morning when sitting on the seat beside the driver, which was a coveted seat in those days, he addressed me, as he had no doubt addressed others many a time before, and with a sigh said, "Ah, I ought not to be here driving a 'bus : I ought to have been in the Foreign Office. My uncle, Mr. —— (the Vice-Consul above alluded to) was Translator there, and he had great influence, and he could have got me appointed if he chose." My only reply was, "Oh, indeed !" He did not know that I was in that office.

One day a lady, the wife of a consul (for whom I was private agent), called upon me to ask my advice as to how she should proceed in a matter connected with her husband's desire to be transferred to another consulate. He had applied from abroad for a particular post, but before his application was considered a more desirable vacancy occurred nearer home, and as his wife held a *carte blanche* from him to do as she pleased in any matter connected with his advancement in the service, she sought an interview with the high official who had the management of that particular branch of the office ; but he threw cold water on the idea, chiefly on the ground that her husband had applied for another post. She consequently sent up her card to the Secretary of State, to whom both she and her husband were known as personal friends, and he saw her at once. As

soon as she had told his lordship what she wanted he replied, "A gentleman in the office" (mentioning his name) "has spoken to me about it, and has assured me it cannot be done." To which the lady replied, "When you want to know how a thing cannot be done you are quite right to consult that brute (whom she greatly disliked); but when you want to know how a thing can be done, take my advice and send for ——" (mentioning my name). This the Secretary of State agreed to do, and on the lady returning to my room and telling me what had passed I was not a little annoyed, as I had no desire to give advice contrary to that which had already been given. However, as I was telling her this, the door opened and the office-keeper entering my room, announced that the Secretary of State wished to see me. I went up to him, and on his asking me whether I saw any way out of the difficulty, I pointed out that as the wife had authority from the husband to act on his behalf in any way she thought best for his advantage during his absence abroad, many thousand miles away, she might, I suggested, be allowed to write an official letter requesting permission to withdraw her husband's application for the appointment which he had asked for, and that she might then apply herself, in his name, for the more desirable post to be given to him. To this the Secretary of State gave his consent. On my returning to my room, and telling her what had passed, she was greatly rejoiced, and asking to be allowed to occupy my chair for a moment, she took a sheet of foolscap paper and said, "Now go on, tell me what to say." I told her, and she

wrote from my dictation. She then asked me for a sheet of note-paper, and wrote, "Dear Lord —, I told you how it would be. Now you have only to write 'approved' on the docket of the inclosed application, and then add your initial"—at the same time making an exaggerated initial from nearly the top of the page to the bottom—"and all will be well"; and so it ended. Her husband obtained the post he wished for, and held it for many years.

On another occasion this same lady came to me and asked me for some money, to pay for various things which she had purchased for her husband. I told her I had no money belonging to him in my hands at that moment, to which she replied that the quarter-day was close at hand, and that I would then be able to recoup myself. I replied that I could not receive her husband's salary until his life certificate arrived, and that the next mail, by which it was expected, might bring the news of his death; I added that of course I trusted that such would not be the case, but that should it unhappily be so, my power of attorney would at once cease, and I could draw no more money on his account, even though some balance of salary might be due to him. Still she pressed, but I still refused, and at last she exclaimed, "Well, if I was a *man*, I'd say *damn*"; and wished me "good-bye."

I hope I may be forgiven for telling little stories about ladies, but as no names are mentioned, I think they are quite harmless, and I will therefore relate one more, showing how a telegram was once improperly used by a consul's wife. One afternoon I received the following telegram from this lady,

who was then residing at Turin, her husband being consul at one of the ports in Brazil : "Has Brazil mail arrived? Any letter for me?" I replied : "Mail arrived ; no letter for you." One would scarcely believe that anything could have been made out of such a reply, but the lady who received a quarterly allowance from her husband was a little "hard up," and she hit upon this little dodge to obtain an advance from H.M.'s Minister at Turin, to whom she was personally known. As soon as she received my reply to her telegram, she went to the minister, and showing it to him, said, "Look here, I've just received this telegram from my husband's private agent at the Foreign Office" (as if it had been spontaneous on my part) ; "he knew my husband intended to send me a remittance by this mail (which was not true), and see how astonished he is that it has not arrived. It places me in a very awkward position, as I owe thirty pounds here. Could you kindly advance me that amount?" The minister replied, "Certainly," and advanced the money, which the consul, when he heard with indignation weeks afterwards what had happened, immediately repaid.

On her return to England this lady called on me at the Foreign Office to explain (she said) the difficult position she was placed in by being left in England when her husband resided so long abroad ; and after a little time she began to shed tears. Suddenly my door opened, but it was as quickly shut again, when the intruder saw a young lady crying, and thinking it a good joke he told his friends in the office to peep into my room

as there was a pretty scene going on, the result of which was that my door was opened and shut again and again with great rapidity. Had I ventured to lock the door I am afraid it would only have tended to make matters worse, so I just put up with it, as there was no help for it. At last the lady said, "I've a great mind to go up to the Secretary of State and tell him all about my husband's treatment of me." This, I thought, was my opportunity; so I ventured to tell her that everybody knew that there was a mystery about the relations between herself and her husband, and I therefore advised her to go up and explain her position to the Secretary of State. This, I was well aware, she could not do, as I knew she had been well treated; so she replied, "I can't go up and see him to-day, because he will see I've been crying." "Well," said I, "some other day"; and the pretty little crocodile took her departure, much to my relief.

The Agency System was by no means a bed of roses for the agents, although upon the whole the relations between agent and client were most amicable, and many lasting friendships were thereby created. The following anecdote may be given as an instance of the unpleasantness connected with the system. A consul, who was one of my clients, once contracted a small debt in his early days, which, as time went on, with interest had reached the respectable total of £350. As it was known that he was about to leave England, a *judgment* was issued against him, which fact he foolishly concealed from me, and got on board ship without settling the debt. Shortly after the next quarter-

day arrived, the gentleman to whom he owed the money called upon me at the Foreign Office and asked me if I had received this consul's salary. I replied that I had not, but I told him candidly that I had that day received from the Chief Clerk a form of receipt, which, on being presented at the Paymaster-General's office, would enable me to receive the quarter's salary then due. "That is money," he replied; and then told me that he had a *judgment* out against the consul for a debt of £350, and asked me if I would pay it; to which I replied, "Certainly not," as I had no authority to do so, nor had I any money of his in my hands. After this he left my room, but shortly afterwards he returned, bringing with him a *garnishee* summons for the payment of the debt. He had gone to a judge in chambers and made an affidavit to the effect that I had got the consul's salary in my hands. I therefore put myself in the hands of my solicitor, who took me also to a judge in chambers, before whom I made an affidavit to the effect that I had not got the consul's quarter's salary or any money belonging to him in my hands. Upon this an order was given for a "Writ to issue," and I was duly served with notice of an action in the Court of Queen's Bench. A consul's salary when in the hands of the Government could not, I was informed, be attached. The gentleman who had a judgment out against the consul maintained that when the Chief Clerk handed me the form of receipt to enable me to obtain the consul's salary from the Paymaster-General's office, the Government had parted with the money, and

that it was therefore attachable. My solicitor, on the other hand, maintained that until the Paymaster-General's office had actually given me money in exchange for the receipt, the Government had not parted with the money, and that being still in their hands it was not attachable, in proof of which he said I could return the receipt to the Chief Clerk if I liked. However, the usual preparations were made for a legal fight, Q.C.'s and other gentlemen of the long robe being retained on either side. Notices were served on the Secretary of State and Chief Clerk to attend. I therefore informed them of what the dispute was about, when the former expressed his opinion that I had right on my side, and that if I paid the debt without the consul's authority, I would render myself liable to an action on his part. So I was likely to be placed in the unenviable position of having an action brought against me whether I paid the money or not! On the day appointed for the trial my solicitor came to me and advised me not to allow so important a matter to be settled by a common jury, and advised me to demand a special jury. I inquired what the additional expense would be, and he replied, "Oh, about another £100." "Very well," said I; "in for a penny in for a pound, let's have a special jury." This postponed the trial for some months, and as the gentleman who brought the action was hard up, he was anxious to get his money; so he wrote me a letter saying he would withdraw the action if I would pay him immediately £200 "on account." But my solicitor, whom I again consulted, said, "You have shown plenty of pluck hitherto, show a little more,

and authorise me to write him a letter saying you at once positively refuse to do anything of the kind." This authority I accordingly gave him, and a short time afterwards I received another letter from the gentleman saying that if I would give him £150 at once he would give me a receipt in settlement of the debt for £350. This my solicitor at first advised me not to do, saying that he believed that they could get him to take a lesser sum; but as I was anxious that the matter should not be brought into Court, and that the Secretary of State and others should not be troubled, I settled the affair by paying the claimant £150, and getting him to assign the judgment debt to me in proper legal form lest the consul should repudiate my proceedings in the matter. The legal expenses came to over £70. Some weeks after this I received a chatty letter from the consul, ending with the following P.S. : "I'm glad ——'s affair is settled." This was really too much, so I wrote him a reply, in which I said I had received his letter in which he said he was glad ——'s affair was settled, but I stated that if I had been in his place, I should have written : "My dear ——, I cannot find words to express my gratitude to you for all the trouble you have taken about ——'s affair, nor my sorrow at the annoyance which this wretched affair has caused you and others in the Foreign Office, and I thank you very heartily for the very satisfactory settlement which you have made." In due course of post I received a letter couched precisely in those terms, but it can easily be imagined what sort of value I set upon it considering it had been dictated by myself.

CHAPTER XII

THE ABYSSINIAN QUESTION

THE story of the Abyssinian War in 1868, and the causes which led to it, is a very long one, but, as nearly all those who took an active part in it have passed away, the following facts, very briefly stated, and a few incidents connected with it may perhaps be read with some little interest.

On February 2, 1861, Captain Charles Duncan Cameron was appointed H.M.'s Consul in Abyssinia with instructions to consider Massowah as the head-quarters of his Consulate. He was the bearer of a royal letter and presents to King Theodore, which he was instructed to deliver in person as soon after his arrival in Abyssinia as he had an opportunity of doing so. Lord John Russell was then Foreign Secretary. On February 12, 1863, a despatch was received from Captain Cameron, dated Godjam, October 31, 1862, in which was inclosed a letter from the King of Abyssinia to the Queen, written in Amharic,¹ and it ended thus:—

“I was prevented by the Turks occupying the sea coast from sending you an Embassy when I was in difficulty. Consul Cameron arrived with a letter, and presents of friendship. By the power of God I was very glad hearing of your welfare, and

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 53, pp. 54, 62.

being assured of your amity. I have received your presents, and thank you much. I fear that if I send Ambassadors with presents of amity by Consul Cameron, they may be arrested by the Turks. And now I wish that you may arrange for the safe passage of my Ambassadors everywhere on the road. I wish to have an answer to this letter by Consul Cameron, and that he may conduct my Embassy to England. See how the Islam oppress the Christian."

This letter from the King was not answered at the time; but a despatch was written to Consul Cameron on April 22, 1863,¹ telling him that it was not desirable that H.M.'s agents should meddle in the affairs of Abyssinia, and that he would have done better had he returned to his post at Massowah when the King told him to do so. He was then told that it would be right that he should do so at once, and that he should remain at Massowah until further orders. It was added: "You will of course keep H.M.'s Government fully and accurately informed of French proceedings in Abyssinia."

In a later despatch (August 13, 1863) he was reminded, with reference to the expressions "Envoy" and "Mission," which repeatedly occurred in his despatches, that, as H.M.'s Consul at Massowah, he held no representative character in Abyssinia.

These despatches fell into the hands of King Theodore, who caused Captain Cameron and others to be detained at Gondar as prisoners. On May 7, 1864, a despatch was received from Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Colquhoun, H.M.'s Agent and Consul-

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 53, pp. 64, 67; vol. 54, p. 1215.

General in Egypt, inclosing a pencil note, having Captain Cameron's initials, dated February 14, 1863 (in error for 1864), which had been received at Massowah by Mr. Speedy. It ran thus :—

“Myself, Stern, Rosenthal, Cairnes, Bardel, McCravie, and McKilvie are all chained here. Flad, Staiger, Brandeis, and Cornelius sent to Duffat, to work for the King. No release until civil answer to King's letter arrives. Mrs. Flad, Mr. Rosenthal, and children, all of us well. Write this to Aden, and Mrs. Stern, 16, Lincoln's Inn Fields.”¹

On May 26, 1864, a royal letter was addressed by the Queen to the King of Abyssinia, and Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, Assistant Political Agent at Aden, was entrusted with its delivery.² He arrived at Massowah on July 23, 1864;³ but did not leave Massowah for the interior until October 15, 1865. He met King Theodore at Damat, January 28, 1866.

On November 3, 1865, Lord Clarendon succeeded Lord Russell as Foreign Secretary, and on July 6, 1866, Lord Stanley succeeded Lord Clarendon.

On February 24, 1866, the prisoners (eighteen in all) were released, but they were re-imprisoned April 13, 1866, together with Mr. Rassam and his companions, Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) W. F. Prideaux, and Dr. Blanc of the Indian Army.

On October 4, 1866, another royal letter was addressed by the Queen to the King of Abyssinia,

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 54, pp. 1218, 1224.

² Another letter was substituted for this one, but bearing the same date, and sent to Mr. Rassam, February 17, 1865. *State Papers*, vol. 55, p. 1298.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 54, p. 1240.

in answer to a further one which the King had addressed to Her Majesty on January 29 of that year, and, as the captives were still not released, two more letters were addressed by Lord Stanley to King Theodore, the latter of which, dated September 9, 1867,¹ commenced thus :—

“Many months have now elapsed since the Queen, my Sovereign, on October 4, 1866,² and Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by command of Her Majesty, on April 16 of this year, appealed to your Majesty in order to obtain the release from the captivity in which they have for a long period been most unjustifiably held, of officers sent to your Court on public matters, and of other individuals who have come under your control. But your Majesty has disregarded these successive appeals, has made light of the remonstrances and representations of the Queen, and has rejected the friendly overtures which have so repeatedly been made to you by H.M.’s commands.”

He was then informed that it was impossible for the Queen any longer to endure such conduct on the part of His Majesty, and that H.M. had therefore given orders³ that a military force, under command of Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Napier, should, without delay, enter his dominions and obtain from him by force a concession which he had hitherto withheld from friendly representations. The British army consequently appeared before Magdala on April 11, 1868, which fortress was carried by storm on April 13, 1868, when King Theodore committed suicide, and all the captives were released. Sir Robert Napier was raised to the peerage with the

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 60, p. 1088.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 60, p. 1063.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 60, p. 1088.

title of Lord Napier of Magdala, on July 17, 1868, and died January 14, 1890.

Before Consul C. D. Cameron was imprisoned at Magdala by King Theodore he was visited at Massowah by their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and their Highnesses the Princes of Hohenlohe and Meiningen, who had gone to Abyssinia elephant shooting. On leaving Massowah the Duke conferred on Consul Cameron the Saxe-Coburg Order, by way of acknowledgment of the attention which he had paid to their Royal Highnesses during their visit to Abyssinia; but, being contrary to the Foreign Office regulations, he was not allowed to accept the Order. Some little time after this I received a letter from Consul Cameron, for whom I then acted as private agent in the Foreign Office, stating that he had sent a special Abyssinian messenger to Alexandria in charge of a giraffe, one large ostrich and three small ones, with a request that I would dispose of them in the following manner: The giraffe, the large ostrich and one of the small ones were to be taken care of by me until I should receive directions from H.R.H. the Duke of Saxe-Coburg as to their disposal (which directions I never did receive); one of the two birds I was to keep for himself until his return to England, and the third was a present to myself. When I received this communication I was puzzled beyond measure to know what I should do with the creatures when they should arrive, but I was not long kept in suspense, for a few days afterwards I received a letter from my old friend Sir Robert Colquhoun, at that time H.M.'s

Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, upon the subject. He began his letter in a most doleful strain. He said he hardly knew how to break the news he had to communicate to me, but—the giraffe was dead! I threw up my hat. He then said that the large ostrich was dead also. Again I tossed my hat in the air. But he then went on to say that the three charming little ostriches were alive and well, and would leave for England by the same boat as conveyed his letter to me, adding that he was really sorry to part with them. I wished with all my heart he had kept them. I had scarcely finished reading the letter before another one arrived from the shipping agent at Southampton informing me of the safe arrival of these three interesting creatures, and calling upon me to have them removed at once, failing which I would render myself liable to the payment of £20 a day for demurrage! What was I to do? I had made inquiries as to the advantages and disadvantages of keeping the birds. The disadvantages were of three kinds. Firstly, they required to be supplied with a peck of gravel a day to keep their digestions in order; secondly, they were very partial to children's eyes, and I had a large family of young children running about my garden at that time; and, thirdly, that unless they were properly fed their feathers would drop off, when they would strut about in a state of nudity. Then, against these, the advantages were *nil*. A bright idea struck me—the Zoo! So I wrote off at once to the secretary, and offered them for the acceptance of the society. They behaved most kindly and

liberally about it. They at once accepted my gift, and sent a man down to Southampton to receive them and take them to the Gardens free of all expense to me. But, more than this, they presented me with a free pass to the Gardens for myself and a friend, which they renewed annually for many years afterwards. On the arrival of the birds they were placed in a large wire stable-like arrangement, and on the gate there was a plate affixed announcing that these beautiful birds were presented by me. What could be more charming? But, alas! it led to my being afterwards much chaffed by my friends, for the three little strangers soon died. Still, I suppose it was to soothe my feelings that my name was left on the gate of the empty stable for many a long month, announcing the important fact that the "valuable birds" which it contained (and the cage was empty) were presented by me.

I remember being told that when Sir Robert Napier appeared with the British army before Magdala a question arose as to who should be employed to deliver to King Theodore the letter addressed to him, demanding the release of the captives on pain of his stronghold being attacked and the captives released by force, when Johannes Schatey, who had been an attendant upon Captain Cameron both before and during part of his long imprisonment at Magdala—a tall, handsome youth of about fourteen years of age, with a yellowish-black complexion—volunteered to undertake the delivery of the letter, and he did deliver it, at the risk of his life. For this act of bravery he was rewarded by Sir Robert Napier with a present of

£25 (or £50—I am uncertain as to the amount), and I was also told that Schatey, on leaving Abyssinia to accompany Captain Cameron to England, gave half of the amount to his parents, and brought the remainder of it with him to England.

Before quitting Egypt, Captain Cameron had this youth dressed in very gaudy-coloured clothing—light blue Egyptian knickerbockers, a waistcoat with a long row of silver buttons, a Greek green-coloured open jacket with loose sleeves, and a red fez. When he arrived in London his bright attire, and his still brighter smile, attracted much attention, and he was often asked into drawing-rooms to be gazed upon by Captain Cameron's friends, especially the ladies. One day he accompanied Captain Cameron in a carriage up Regent Street, and on leaving a shop after his master had made some purchases, one of the shop "young ladies" presented him with a whistle, which amused him immensely, and when he had climbed on to the coach-box, after his master had seated himself inside, he applied his mouth vigorously to the whistle, much to the amusement of the British public passing along Regent Street at the time, who were puzzled to know what it all meant.

Schatey spoke English pretty well, and was most anxious to improve his knowledge of the language. He often came to my house with Captain Cameron, and used frequently to say to strangers, "Teach me to read," at the same time producing a "primer" from his pocket, and saying, "Cook" and "Eliza" (the name of one of my housemaids) "and all servants read"; but although

many expressed their great desire to help him, I don't believe he ever got much assistance from anyone.

Captain Cameron used occasionally to take him to the Foreign Office with him, leaving him in my room whilst he went to the Consular Department. Schatey then used to throw himself down on my hearthrug, and one day on my arrival at the office I found him lying before the fire fast asleep. Captain Cameron was at this time residing at Staines with his brother-in-law, Captain D., but he frequently stayed at an hotel in London, leaving Schatey at Staines, where he used to pass his time in wandering about the lanes alone, in total disregard of Captain D.'s frequent warning to him not to do so, lest he should be robbed of his money, which he always carried about with him in his pocket. One day Captain D. had occasion to speak to him very seriously on this subject, winding up his scolding by telling him that if he did it again he would "have him chained." This was too much for poor Schatey, who had seen his master chained by King Theodore for nine consecutive months, with his right wrist attached by another chain to his ankle, and well knew, therefore, what "chaining" meant. Schatey took the first opportunity, therefore, of escaping from Captain D.'s house, and walked from Staines to Richmond, a distance of ten miles, and sought refuge in my house, where I found him one evening on my return from the Foreign Office. He appeared to be in great distress at the fear of what punishment might possibly be in store for him for

having left Captain D.'s house. But when he found he would be kindly treated, given a good supper, and told he might remain at my house for the night, his countenance lighted up, and he looked supremely happy. The maidservants, however, did not quite relish the idea of having this dusky youth sleeping upstairs on the same floor as themselves, and he was, therefore, conducted to the pantry, where he was told he could make himself "comfortable." As he was not used to a bed, and only required a thick blanket, which he was in the habit of twisting round his body and head, and was well content to sleep on the floor at night, his wants were soon supplied, and as soon as he had retired for the night he was carefully locked in his room from the outside by the terrified domestics. Before lying down to sleep he used to stand upright for several minutes, silently offering up a prayer, I was told, to his patron saint, "St. George."

Next morning, Schatey's first remark was, "Me want to see my master." He knew the name of the hotel where Captain Cameron lived, near Covent Garden, and he was therefore accompanied by one of my servants to the Richmond railway station, and provided with a ticket to Waterloo; a shilling was also given him to pay for a cab, and twopence for the toll (then payable) for passing over Waterloo Bridge. On giving him the shilling, it was explained to him that it was for the hire of a cab to take him to his master's hotel, on which he observed, "Cab? Cab? Me no know, cab." The word "coach" was then substituted; but this word he did not know either. But he suddenly exclaimed, "Look here!

Carriage?" and on being told "Yes," he said, "Look here, coachman say 'More,' me say 'No more'"; and being again told "Yes," he said, "All right," at which we all smiled, feeling assured that he had made up his mind not to be imposed upon by cabby. The distance was very short—well within the shilling fare.

He then asked me, "Look here, suppose me no find my master, me come to your house, white house, Foreign Office house"; to which I replied "Yes," when he again said, "All right." Still, it was with some little difficulty that we could make him understand where his master was to be found, as he did not know the meaning of the word "hotel"; but at last a happy thought struck him, and he said, "Look here, you go in house, you say, 'Dinner—Bed.' next morning you say 'Breakfast'; they say 'One pound—two pound'?" And being told that that was an hotel, he smiled, again saying, "All right," and started off on his voyage of discovery. A few hours afterwards I went to London, and called at the hotel to see if Schatey had arrived safely, and whilst talking to Captain Cameron in his sitting-room, the door was opened ajar, and I saw Schatey's face peeping in, beaming with delight, so that he had evidently found his master without any trouble. He was very fond of Captain Cameron, but, as time went on, I fancy the Captain got tired of him, and not knowing what to do with him when the Egyptian clothing got worn out, he dressed him in ordinary servant's attire. He was much hurt at this, and when his master ordered him to clean his boots, he would complain that he did not come to England

to clean boots! Still, to show how fond he was of his master, when the bell rang, and Schatey was told to fetch his master a glass of wine (or something stronger), he would go downstairs, pour it out into a wine-glass, put it on a tray, and then, knowing how it would injure his master's health, would shake his clenched fist at it, burst out crying, and then go into the drawing-room, and, obeying orders, hand it to his master to drink. At last the time arrived when some decision had to be taken respecting him. What was to be done with him here in England? How was he to be educated? One kind, well-meaning friend offered to send him to a Roman Catholic seminary; another friend, equally kind and well-intentioned, offered to send him to a Nonconformist school. But nothing came of either of these offers, and he was at last sent back to Abyssinia, much to my regret, as I felt sure that had he been properly educated, he would have become the firm friend of England, and have made his influence felt on his return to his native land; but it was ordained otherwise, and I have never heard of the poor fellow since.

After his departure, I was staying with some friends at Bath, and when dining out one evening at a friend's house there, I related the above story to the lady of the house, who seemed to take deep interest in all I said. The next day she called in her carriage at my friend's house where I was staying, and asked me if I would like to take a drive with her in the park, which offer I readily accepted; and after we had driven a little way, she told me she had been so interested in this

Abyssinian youth that she would willingly give me £50 a year towards his education, and she was much disappointed (as I was) at hearing that it was "too late," as he had already been sent back to Abyssinia, and there was no means of recalling him.

When at the Foreign Office one day I showed Schatey the allegorical figure of the King of Abyssinia, among other rulers, with the word "Abyssinia" written in gold over it, at which Schatey seemed highly pleased, and exclaimed, in words to the following effect: "Ah! If my King, Theodore, had only lived to see this recognition of his having been an independent Sovereign, he would have died happy!"

Shortly before the outbreak of war between this country and Abyssinia, in 1867, a friend of one of the captives called upon me at the Foreign Office and asked me to tell him the contents of certain despatches which, it was announced in the newspapers, had just arrived from Abyssinia. I told him that I knew nothing about them, beyond what I had seen in the newspapers. He seemed much disappointed and left my room; but two days later he called upon me again and repeated his request, when I replied that I could only give him the same answer. He then asked if he could walk with me to the railway station when the office was up, and knowing him well, I readily assented. When the time arrived for my leaving, we walked out of the office together, and on the way to the station my friend made another appeal to me to tell him the contents of the despatches recently arrived

from Abyssinia, adding, "You may safely trust me, as I am a man of discretion." To which I at once replied, "You are not a man of discretion." "What!" he exclaimed, "I—not a man of discretion?" "No," I replied; "you must excuse me, but you are *not* a man of discretion." "Well," he said, "you say that in such a marked manner that I must ask you what you mean." To which I replied, "Certainly! I will now tell you why I say so. You wrote a letter to a friend of yours two days ago, after you had called upon me at the Foreign Office, and gave him an account therein of what purported to be the contents of the recent despatches from Abyssinia, and you added, 'I know this to be true, because Hertslet told me so.'" I then observed, "This was doubly reprehensible on your part, for you gave your friend to understand that I had divulged the contents of certain despatches, which I had not done; and at the same time you led him to imagine that the information which you were imparting to him was something more than had appeared in the newspapers, which was not the case." I then told him that he would perhaps be surprised to hear that his letter had been shown to me, so that I felt justified in telling him that he was not "a man of discretion." He seemed perfectly astounded at this, and admitted at once that he had done wrong in writing as he had done, and in mentioning my name. He said, "I felt it was wrong to mention your name just as I was dropping my letter into the letter-box, but it was then too late." I told him that he little thought that his letter would so soon fall into my

hands ; and as the conversation was getting a little warm, we wished each other "Good-night," and parted as friends, but he did not accompany me to the railway station.

After the release of the Abyssinian captives, a gentleman called upon me at the Foreign Office. He was accompanied by another gentleman, who remained standing near the door. The gentleman who approached me introduced himself as Mr. —, the publisher, and said he had been served with a notice of an action-at-law by one of the prisoners who had been released, for having stated in a book which he had published, that he (the released prisoner) had been the cause of the Abyssinian War, inasmuch as he had poisoned King Theodore's mind against the English.¹ My visitor then said, "I only said what was well known," and mentioning to me the passage which was objected to, he asked me whether I had not heard the story. But before answering him, I inquired who his friend was who was standing near the door and whether he was a solicitor, and on his replying that he was, I politely declined to answer any questions on the subject, as I had no wish to find myself in the witness-box, and they consequently both left my room, looking somewhat crestfallen.

¹ See *State Papers*, vol. 60, pp. 1048-9.

CHAPTER XIII

"FOREIGN OFFICE LIST"

ON April 30, 1852, the *Foreign Office List* was commenced by the late Francis W. H. Cavendish, of the Foreign Office, who, at that time, was also précis-writer to the Earl of Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary. It was an unpretentious little brochure of thirty-two pages, in a light-brown paper cover. The *List* for the following year was also published by Francis Cavendish alone, but in 1854, at his request, I joined him in the undertaking, and for the next nine years it was published under our joint names; but Francis Cavendish, having met with a very severe accident, in 1863, retired from the Foreign Office on October 1 of that year, and since that date (now for thirty-seven years) the work, which now extends to about 400 pages, has been published annually under my own superintendence, Francis Cavendish's name having been withdrawn from it at his own written request.

Before 1852 no record was kept in the office of the separate services rendered by each individual, and great difficulties were at first experienced in collecting such information, partly from official records, and partly from the parties themselves; and had it not been for the kindness shown by

many noblemen and gentlemen, who took the trouble to communicate directly with the editors, it would have been almost an impossible task to have made the statement of their services complete, for although the publication of the *List* as a private undertaking had received official sanction, it was strongly objected to in certain quarters, as likely to afford information to the general public with regard to the office, which they thought it advisable it should not possess, and much information was in consequence for a time withheld.

All mention of official salaries and pensions was, therefore, at first excluded, and the work was confined to returns showing the *corps* of the Foreign Office, according to the respective ranks and dates of appointment of each of its members ; the Diplomatic and Consular Corps, similarly arranged ; and a very brief statement of the services of each member of the office, at home and abroad, who was living at the time of its publication, so far as they were obtainable from the office archives ; moreover it possessed no index.

A short statement only of their services, induced the objectors before long to furnish a complete record of them, and the statements now given are admitted to be as accurate as it is possible to make them.

In those days, too, all matters relating to the Diplomatic and Consular Services were arranged, in official returns laid before Parliament, in geographical order, and it was not very easy, therefore, to turn readily to any particular minister or consul to whom one might wish to refer, or to the place

where he resided ; but in the *Foreign Office List* all the countries of the globe were, for the first time, arranged in alphabetical order, which greatly facilitated reference, and this improved system has since been adopted in all official returns.

Formerly, too, it was difficult to ascertain the precise date when a diplomatic or consular officer actually entered the service, as in some cases it was reckoned from the date of his letter of appointment, in others from the date of the official announcement of his appointment in the *London Gazette*, and in others again from the date when he first began to draw salary, which, as a rule, was ten days before he took his departure from England for his post. This has now been completely altered, and each appointment bears one date only ; but it naturally took some time to rearrange such matters in the office itself. The letter of appointment and the notification in the *Gazette* now bear the same date.

The price was at first two shillings, and it was published by subscription, and as one official omitted to pay his subscription after repeated applications for this small amount, he was cautioned by Francis Cavendish that unless it was paid within a specified time his name would be *posted*. This caused much laughter in the office, and a clever drawing was made by the delinquent himself, with a postage stamp stuck on his shoulders in place of a head, with a notice under it announcing that the said individual was "posted." It is still preserved in a suitable frame by one of his old friends.

So few copies of the earlier editions were struck

off that I very much doubt whether half a dozen complete sets of the *Foreign Office List* could now be obtained for love or money.

When the January 1862 edition was issued, it contained, in the statement of their services, a reference to the parentage or relationship of such members of the service as were then known. It was stated, in some cases, that so-and-so was a *brother* of so-and-so; in another, that he was *uncle* of a certain earl; and so forth. These statements were strongly objected to by some gentlemen in the office, although such details are given in many other books of reference; but I believe the chief objection arose mainly from its being stated that a certain Foreign Office official was *cousin* to a *Duke*; so to meet the wishes of certain parties in the office, the edition was withdrawn, and a new edition issued without those details, which very nearly ruined the sale of the book, as repeated applications were made to the publishers for the "suppressed" edition, and no inducement could persuade the applicant to accept the "revised" edition. Still, the work has outlived this little outburst of popular irritation and disappointment, and is now admitted to be a most useful annual *vade mecum*.

APPENDIX

SECRETARIES OF STATE

FOR "NORTHERN" AND "SOUTHERN" DEPARTMENTS,
AND FOR "FOREIGN AFFAIRS"

IT may be useful for purposes of reference to give an account of the Office of Secretary of State and a list of those who have held the post of Foreign Secretary since 1760.

The earliest mention of a Secretary to the Sovereign occurs in the 37th year of the reign of King Henry III., in 1253. There was at that time only one secretary.

A second Secretary to the King appears to have been appointed, for the first time, in the 12th year of the reign of King Henry VI., in 1433, and from this appointment arose the term "Principal," or "Chief," or "First" Secretary. But it was not until the 30th year of the reign of King Henry VIII., in 1539, that the office of "King's Principal Secretary" was divided between two persons with equal rank and duties. Those duties were divided between the "Northern" and "Southern" Departments or Provinces, and to each secretary different under-secretaries and staffs were attached. But although particular duties were allotted to each

secretary, the whole secretariat was then, as it is to this day, one office, any one of the Secretaries of State (and there are now five) being competent, and having the authority to discharge the duties assigned to his colleagues. So recently as 1878, when the Marquess of Salisbury, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, attended the Congress of Berlin, in June and July of that year, the duties appertaining to the Foreign Secretary were discharged by the Right Honourable R. Cross (now Viscount Cross), who was at that time Secretary of State for the Home Department, and who addressed instructions to H.M.'s plenipotentiaries, in a despatch dated "Foreign Office, 8th June, 1878."¹

The "Northern" Department included the Low Countries, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Russia, etc., and the "Southern" Department included France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, etc.

The first use of the title of "Secretary of State" occurred in the 43rd year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in 1601, when Sir Robert Cecil, on being appointed Secretary of State, was styled by Her Majesty "our Principal Secretary of State," his coadjutor, John Herbert, being described as "one of our Secretaries of State."

In the next reign the title became generally adopted in its more modern term, "Secretary of State," although that of "Principal Secretary of State" is still very frequently used.

Upon the union with Scotland, in the 6th year of the reign of Queen Anne, a third "Secretary

¹ *State Papers*, vol. lxix. p. 831.

of State" was added (in 1708), namely, for Scotch Affairs, but this appointment ceased in January, 1746.

The names given hereunder of the Secretaries of State for the "Northern" and "Southern" Departments respectively, with the dates of their appointments, have been taken from the *Calendars of Home Office Papers*, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

On the 24th November, 1760, the Right Hon. William Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) was appointed "one of the Principal Secretaries of State," and he would appear to have presided over the "Southern" Department¹ until the 9th October, 1761, when he was succeeded by the Earl of Egremont. He died on the 23rd January, 1806.

A Foreign Secretary, when he first entered upon office, was placed either at the Cockpit² (still so called) at Whitehall or at Cleveland Row, St. James's, and should he afterwards be transferred from one department to the other, that is to say, from the "Northern" to the "Southern" Department, or *vice versâ*, he did not, necessarily, remove from the office where he had hitherto conducted his business, but had certain books and papers of his new department brought over to him at his new office, and there he conducted his new business.

Great inconvenience was occasioned by the two offices being situated so far apart, and it is on record that, by the "negligence of Ministers," important papers were much injured and many

¹ *Calendar, Home Office Papers*, 1760-1765, pp. 300-302.

² The old Cockpit was pulled down about 1740.

lost. For instance, the original Treaty concluded by this country with Portugal in 1654 was found at a bookstall in the street, and the original Treaty with Holland, concluded in the same year, was purchased at a public auction ; but they are now safely housed in the Public Record Office.¹

I may here mention a singular incident which occurred one day when the old office was in Downing Street. A labouring man called at the office bringing with him an original numbered despatch from one of H.M.'s ministers abroad written in the eighteenth century. His story was that one morning, as he was walking along the pavement in the Clapham Road, on his way to his work, he noticed, as a City omnibus passed him, a paper fall from a coat pocket of one of the passengers seated outside. He shouted, he said, to the driver to stop, but failing to attract his attention, he stepped into the road and picked up the paper, and seeing that it had every appearance of being an official document, he thought the proper course for him to pursue would be to take it himself to the office to which it apparently belonged, and he accordingly brought it to the Foreign Office. On inquiries being made by the Foreign Office at the Public Record Office, it was found that this particular numbered despatch was missing from the series of that minister's despatches of that date, and there were, moreover, indications upon it clearly showing that it had never been bound in the volume with his other

¹ See Appendix to *Thirtieth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, 1782, p. 428.

despatches. The despatch related to no matter of public interest at that time. Who the individual was who had this public document in his possession, how he became possessed of it, and what he may have been about to do with it when he reached the City, must ever remain a mystery. One thing, however, is pretty certain, and that is that he must have been considerably astonished, on arriving at his destination, to find that his treasure was gone. The labourer was rewarded with a sovereign for his trouble and loss of time; and the paper was inserted in its proper place in the bound volume at the Public Record Office to which it belonged.

But it is scarcely to be wondered at that papers were lost in former times, considering that despatches received by the Secretary of State were not docketed nor was any register kept of their contents before 1810.

On the 25th March, 1761, John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department.

In May following his lordship temporarily removed his office—the "Northern" Department—from the Cockpit at Whitehall to Cleveland Row, St. James's. It was transferred back to Whitehall, and again to Cleveland Row, more than once before 1768, when it was definitely removed to Cleveland Row.

The "Southern" Department remained at this time (1761) at Whitehall, but it was subsequently transferred to Cleveland Row and back again to Whitehall more than once until between December,

1770, and April, 1771, when it was also definitely removed to Cleveland Row.¹

On the 9th October, 1761, Charles Wyndham, 2nd Earl of Egremont, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department, as successor to the Right Hon. William Pitt. He was son of Sir William Wyndham, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the reign of Queen Anne. His lordship continued to transact his business at Whitehall until the 21st August, 1763, when he died.

On the 28th May, 1762, the Right Hon. George Grenville was appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department, which post he held until the 14th October, 1762, when he resigned. His business was conducted in Cleveland Row, St. James's.

On the 14th October, 1762, George Montagu Dunk, 2nd and last Earl of Halifax, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department, and he also had his office in Cleveland Row, St. James's.

On the death of the Earl of Egremont, on the 21st August, 1763, the Earl of Halifax was directed to take temporary charge of such business as should arise in the "Southern" Department, and on the 9th of September following, his lordship was appointed Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department. He resigned on the 10th July, 1765, but was again appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department on the 24th January, 1771. He died on the 8th June of that year.

¹ See WHEATLEY and CUNNINGHAM'S *London: Past and Present*, vol. i. p. 422, and vol. ii. p. 438.

On the 9th September, 1763, John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department, then at Whitehall. His lordship had previously assisted at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and was for some time First Lord of the Admiralty. He resigned his office as Foreign Secretary on the 10th July, 1765, and on the following day Augustus Henry Fitzroy, 3rd Duke of Grafton, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department. His letters were dated from Whitehall from this date until 23rd May, 1766. He was afterwards First Lord of the Treasury, and in 1771 was made Lord Privy Seal. He died 14th March, 1811.

On the 10th July, 1765, General, afterwards Field Marshal, the Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway was appointed Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department, then at St. James's, but on the 23rd May, 1766, he was transferred to the "Northern" Department.

On the same day (23rd May, 1766), Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny, who was H.M.'s Ambassador at Paris in the previous year, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department, then at Whitehall. In this month the papers of the "Southern" Department were transferred back to Whitehall. On the 30th June, 1766, a letter, of which the following is an extract, was addressed to the Field Officer in Waiting respecting the placing of a sentinel at his door:—

"The papers are removed from Cleveland Row, which makes it peculiarly necessary to place a

sentinel at His Grace's office; but, at the same time, he thinks it proper that one should be continued for a constancy, as is done in the other Secretary of State's office in Cleveland Row."

The Duke of Richmond resigned on the 30th July, 1766. He died on the 29th December, 1806.

On the 13th July, 1766, William Petty, 2nd Earl of Shelburne, afterwards 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department, and his official letters were dated from Whitehall until the 21st October, 1768, when he resigned.

In the 8th year of the reign of King George III. (20th January, 1768) a third Secretary of State was appointed, to attend to American affairs. He was styled "Secretary of State for the Colonies"; but this appointment was abolished in 1782 (22 George III. cap. 82). His office was at Whitehall.

On the 20th January, 1768, Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth, afterwards 1st Marquess of Bath, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department, then in Cleveland Row, St. James's. Both the "Northern" and "Southern" Departments were then, temporarily, at St. James's. On the 21st October following, Viscount Weymouth was transferred to the "Southern" Department, then at Whitehall, in the room of the Earl of Shelburne, and on the same day William Henry Nassau, 4th Earl of Rochford, K.G., who had previously been H.M.'s Ambassador at Paris, was appointed Secretary of State for

the "Northern" Department, then in Cleveland Row.

On the 19th December, 1770, the "Southern" Department (which had remained at Whitehall when the Earl of Bute removed his office—the "Northern" Department—thence to Cleveland Row, in 1761, but which had been temporarily transferred more than once to Cleveland Row after that date) was finally removed from Whitehall to Cleveland Row. Both departments were at Cleveland Row from about December, 1770, until March, 1782. At the previous date (the 19th December, 1770) the Earl of Sandwich was again appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department and the Earl of Rochford Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department. The Earl of Sandwich died in 1792.

On the 22nd January, 1771, the Earl of Halifax was again transferred to the "Northern" Department, still at Cleveland Row.

On the 12th June, 1771, Henry Howard, 12th Earl of Suffolk and 6th Earl of Berkshire, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department.

On the 10th November, 1775, Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth, afterwards 1st Marquess of Bath, was again appointed Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department.

On the 27th October, 1779, David Murray, 7th Viscount Stormont, afterwards 2nd Earl of Mansfield, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Northern" Department, which post he held till the 27th March, 1782.

On the 24th November, 1779, William Hill, 1st Earl of Hillsborough, afterwards 1st Marquess of Downshire, was appointed Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department, which office he held till the 27th March, 1782.

In the 22nd year of the reign of King George III. (27th March, 1782) the terms "Northern" and "Southern" Departments were discontinued, when the duties were divided between the "Home" and "Foreign" Departments, the affairs of Ireland and the Colonies devolving (for a time) upon the Home Secretary.

On the 11th April, 1786, the Commissioners who were appointed to inquire into the fees in public offices recommended that the office of the Secretaries of State and the "Paper Office" should be under one roof, or, at least, should adjoin one another, which led to the erection of the State Paper Office, in Delahay Street, but that office was pulled down in 1861 to make room for the new public offices.

Most of the Public Records, including those of the Foreign Office, except those of a comparatively recent date, are now carefully preserved at the Public Record Office.

The Right Hon. Charles James Fox was the first Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his office was in Cleveland Row, St. James's. He was appointed on the 27th March, 1782, and on the 17th July he resigned. He was succeeded by Thomas Robinson, 2nd Lord Grantham, who resigned 2nd April, 1783, when Mr. Fox was again appointed Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs. Lord Grantham died on the 20th July, 1786.

On the 23rd December, 1783, Mr. Fox again resigned, when he was succeeded by Francis Godolphin Osborn, Marquess of Carmarthen—Baron Osborn by writ—afterwards 5th Duke of Leeds, K.G.

At Michaelmas, 1786, the Foreign Office was removed from Cleveland Row back to the Cockpit at Whitehall; and from that date until Christmas, 1793, all letters emanating from the office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs were dated from "Whitehall."

On the 8th June, 1791, the Duke of Leeds resigned, when William Wyndham Grenville—Lord Grenville—was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. His official residence was also at Whitehall. He died on the 21st January, 1834.

After the retirement of the Duke of Leeds the gentlemen of the Foreign Office had a full-length portrait of His Grace painted in oils by Thomas Lawrence, R.A., which they presented to Her Grace the Duchess of Leeds in 1792, and a steel engraving of it was afterwards made by R. M. Meadows. No record exists in the Foreign Office of the circumstances under which the presentation of this portrait was made to the Duchess of Leeds, nor are the names of the subscribers preserved there; but in the *Royal Calendar* of that date the names are given of those who then composed the Foreign Office establishment.

The following inscription was printed under the

steel engraving, under his coat of arms, with motto, "Pax in bello":—

"His Grace Francis, Duke of Leeds, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, late His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, etc., etc., etc.

"From a Portrait by Mr. Lawrence, presented to Her Grace the Duchess of Leeds by the Gentlemen of the Foreign Department in 1792.

"Painted by T. Lawrence, R.A. Engraved by R. M. Meadows."

The photograph here given is from the above engraving.

The Duke of Leeds died on the 31st of January, 1799.

In the 34th year of the reign of King George III. (11th July, 1794) a third Principal Secretary of State was appointed, namely, for War; and the business of the Colonies, which had hitherto been carried on at the Home Office, was, on the 17th March, 1801, transferred (for a time) to that Secretary of State.

On the 20th February, 1801, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, afterwards 2nd Earl of Liverpool, succeeded Lord Grenville as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. His lordship died 4th December, 1828.

The following is a list of the changes which have subsequently taken place in the Office of Foreign Secretary:—

14th May, 1804. Dudley Ryder, 2nd Lord Harrowby, afterwards 1st Earl of Harrowby. Died 29th December, 1847.

11th January, 1805. Henry Phipps, 3rd Lord Mulgrave, afterwards 1st Earl of Mulgrave. Died 7th April, 1831.

7th February, 1805. Charles James Fox, for the third time. Mr. Fox died at the Duke of Devonshire's seat at Chiswick, on the 13th February, 1806.

24th September, 1806. Charles Grey, Lord Howick, afterwards 2nd Earl Grey, K.G. (in Lord Grenville's Ministry). Was Prime Minister from 1830 to 1833. Died 17th July, 1845.

25th March, 1807. George Canning was Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 5th January, 1796, till 1st April, 1799. On the 25th March, 1807, he was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (in the Duke of Portland's Ministry). The failure of the Walcheren Expedition, in 1809, led to Mr. Canning's duel with Lord Castlereagh on Putney Heath, 21st September, 1809, when Mr. Canning was wounded, and on the 21st October following he resigned.

11th October, 1809. Henry Bathurst, 3rd Earl Bathurst, K.G. (in Mr. Spencer Perceval's Ministry). Died 27th July, 1834.

6th December, 1809. Richard Wellesley, 2nd Marquess Wellesley, K.G. (in Mr. Spencer Perceval's Ministry). Died 26th September, 1842.

4th March, 1812. Robert Henry Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, afterwards 2nd Marquess of Londonderry, K.G. (in the Earl of Liverpool's Ministry). Died 12th August, 1822, at the Duke of Devonshire's seat at Chiswick, in the same house as that in which Mr. Fox died in 1806.

16th September, 1822. George Canning (in the Earl of Liverpool's Ministry), for the second time, till 30th April, 1827, when he became Prime Minister. Died 8th August, 1827.

30th April, 1827. John William Ward, Viscount Dudley and Ward, afterwards 4th Earl of Dudley (in Mr. George Canning's, Viscount Goderich's, and the Duke of Wellington's Ministries respectively). Died 6th March, 1833.

2nd June, 1828. George Hamilton Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen, K.G. (in the Duke of Wellington's Ministry).

22nd November, 1830. Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, G.C.B. (in Earl Grey's, and later, in Viscount Melbourne's Ministry).

15th November, 1834. Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, K.G. (in Sir Robert Peel's Ministry). Died at Walmer Castle, 14th September, 1852.

18th April, 1835. Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, G.C.B. (in Viscount Melbourne's Ministry), for the second time.

2nd September, 1841. George Hamilton Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen, K.G. (in Sir Robert Peel's Ministry), for the second time. Died 14th December, 1860.

6th July, 1846. Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, G.C.B., afterwards K.G. (in Lord John Russell's Ministry), for the third time. Died 18th October, 1865.

26th December, 1851. Granville George Leveson Gower, 2nd Earl Granville, K.G. (in Lord John Russell's Ministry). His lordship was Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when Viscount Leveson, from 7th March, 1840, till 4th September, 1841.

27th February, 1852. James Harris, 3rd Earl

of Malmesbury, G.C.B. (in the 14th Earl of Derby's Ministry).

28th December, 1852. Lord John Russell, afterwards 1st Earl Russell, K.G., G.C.M.G. (in the Earl of Aberdeen's Ministry).

21st February, 1853. George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon, K.G., G.C.B. (in the Earl of Aberdeen's and subsequently in Viscount Palmerston's Ministry).

In the 17th year of the reign of Victoria (12th June, 1854) a fourth Principal Secretary of State (for War) was appointed, when the business of the War Department was removed from the Colonial Office.

26th February, 1858. James Harris, 3rd Earl of Malmesbury, G.C.B. (in the 14th Earl of Derby's Ministry), for the second time. Died 17th May, 1889.

In the 22nd year of the reign of Victoria (2nd September, 1858), on the abolition of the East India Company's charter, a fifth Principal Secretary of State was appointed for the affairs of India. There are now five Secretaries of State, viz. for the Home, Foreign, War, and Colonial Departments, and for India.

18th June, 1859. Lord John Russell, afterwards 1st Earl Russell, K.G., G.C.M.G. (in Viscount Palmerston's Ministry), for the second time. Died 28th May, 1878.

3rd November, 1865. George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon, K.G., G.C.B. (in Earl Russell's Ministry), for the second time.

6th July, 1866. Edward Henry Stanley, Lord Stanley of Bickerstaffe, afterwards 15th Earl of

Derby, K.G. (in Mr. Disraeli's, afterwards the Earl of Beaconsfield's, Ministry).

9th December, 1868. George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon, K.G., G.C.B. (in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's Ministry), for the third time. Died 27th June, 1870.

6th July, 1870. Granville George Leveson Gower, 2nd Earl Granville, K.G. (in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's Ministry), for the second time.

21st February, 1874. Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby, K.G. (in Mr. Disraeli's, afterwards the Earl of Beaconsfield's, Ministry), for the second time. Died 21st April, 1893.

2nd April, 1878. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, present and 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. (in Mr. Disraeli's, afterwards the Earl of Beaconsfield's, Ministry).

28th April, 1880. Granville George Leveson Gower, 2nd Earl Granville, K.G. (in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's Ministry), for the third time. Died 31st March, 1891.

24th June, 1885. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, present and 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., for the second time. He was at the same time Prime Minister.

6th February, 1886. Archibald Philip Primrose, present and 5th Earl of Rosebery, K.G. (in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's Ministry).

3rd August, 1886. Stafford Henry Northcote, 1st Earl of Iddesleigh, G.C.B. (in the Marquess of Salisbury's Ministry). Died 12th January, 1887.

14th January, 1887. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, present and 3rd Marquess of Salisbury,

K.G., for the third time. He was at the same time Prime Minister for the second time.

18th August, 1892. Archibald Philip Primrose, present and 5th Earl of Rosebery, K.G. (in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's Ministry), for the second time. Was afterwards Prime Minister.

11th March, 1894. John Wodehouse, present and 1st Earl of Kimberley, K.G. (in the Earl of Rosebery's Ministry). His lordship was Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when Lord Wodehouse, from 28th December, 1852, till 10th April 1854, and again from 19th June, 1859, till 15th August, 1861. He was subsequently Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

29th June, 1895. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, present and 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., for the fourth time. He was at the same time Prime Minister for the third time.

12th November, 1900. Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, present and 5th Marquess of Lansdowne, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E. (in the Marquess of Salisbury's Ministry).

It will be seen from the above list that the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, afterwards 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, was Secretary of State for the "Southern" Department from 1766 till 1768.

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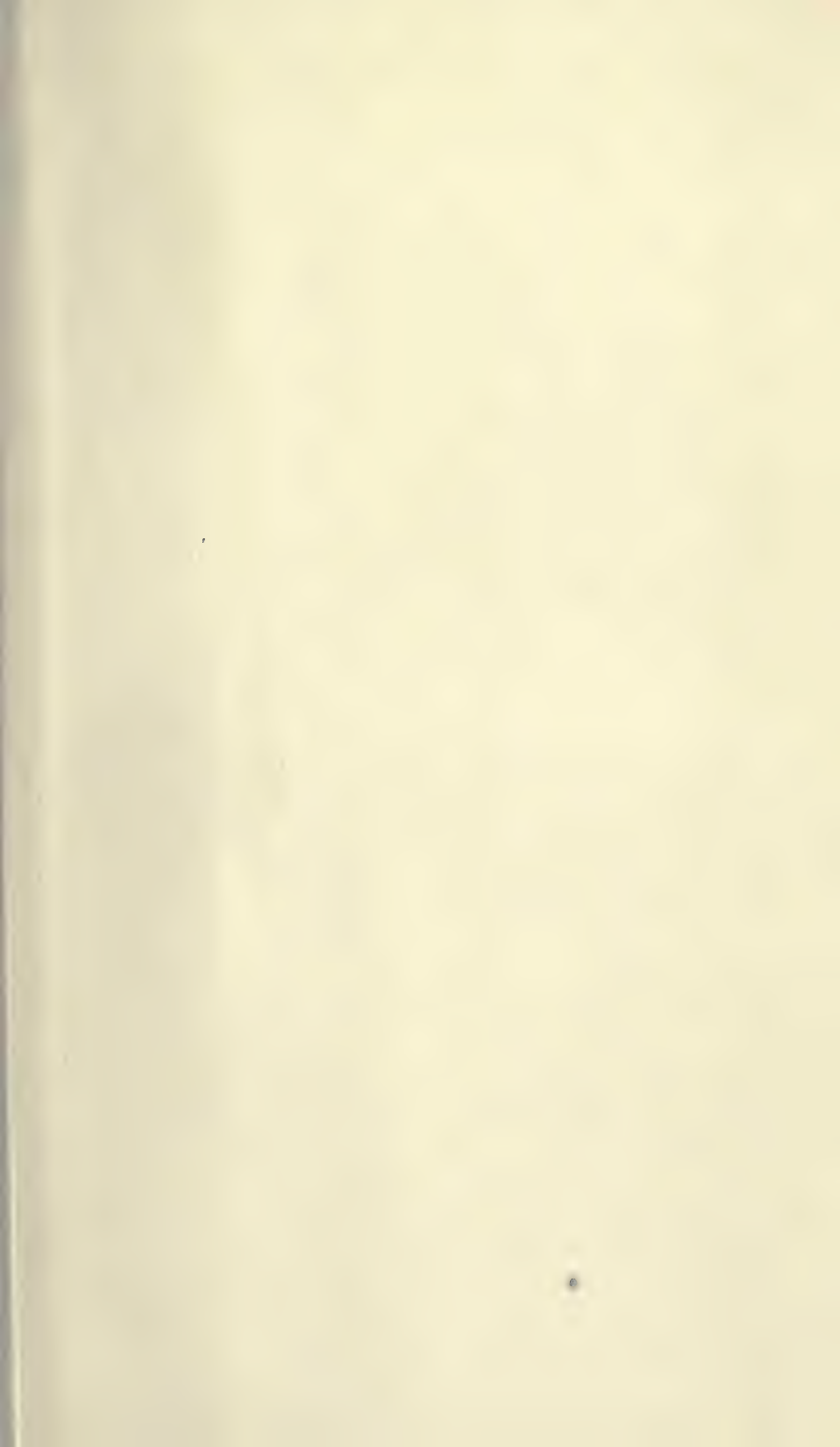
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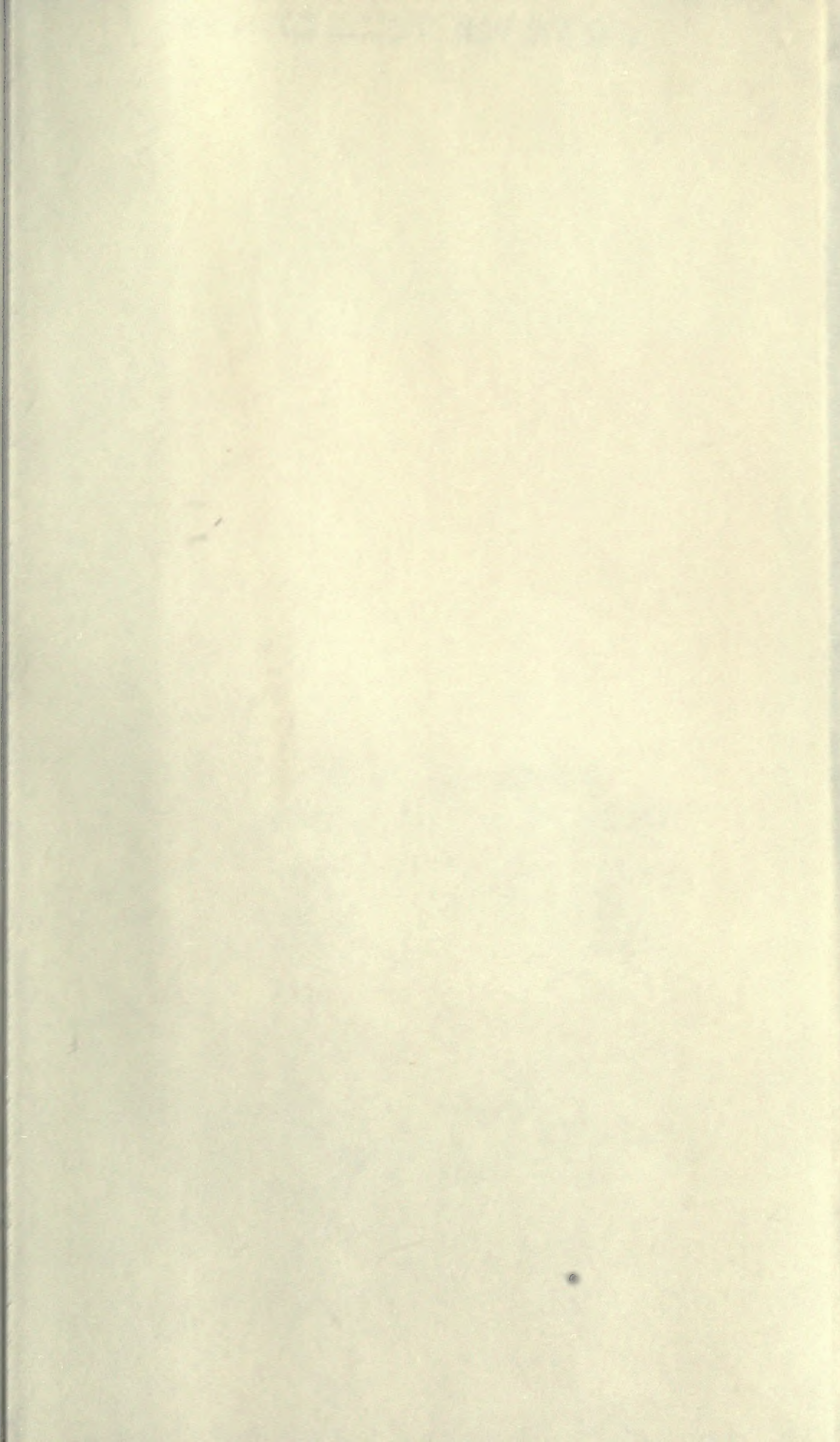
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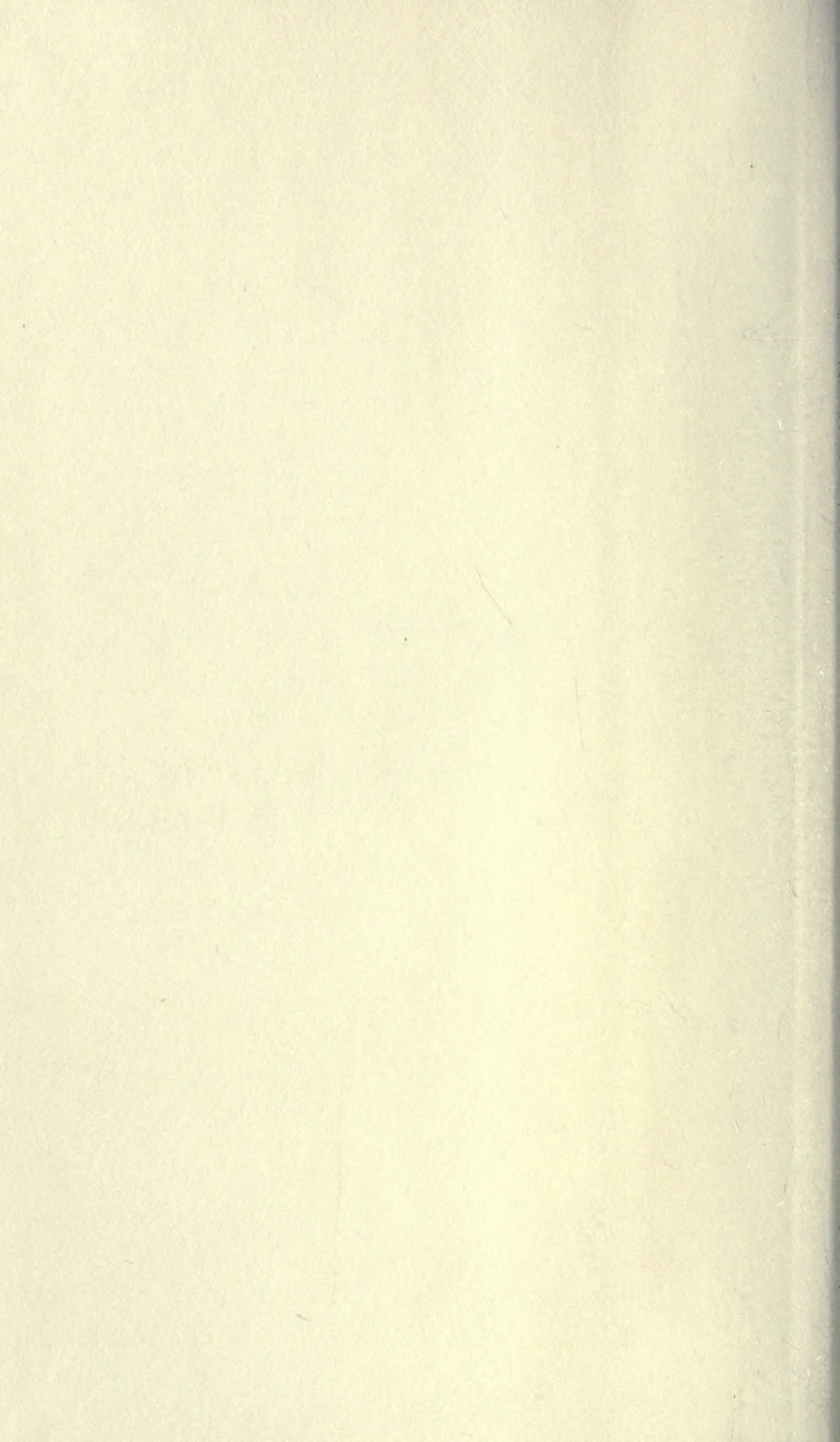
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